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FOR THE NATIONAL ERA.

SHERWOOD FOREST,

OR

WAGER BY BATTLE.

A Tale of Saxon Slavery in the Twelfth Century.

BY HENRY WILLIAM HERBERT.

CHAP. XXII.

Wager by Battle.

Then rode they together full right,
With sharpe speares and swordes bright;
They smote together sore.
They spent speares and brake shields;
They pounsed as fowl in the fields;
Either foamed as doth a boar.
Sir Triamour.

The fatal third day had come about, and with it all the dreadful preparations for the judicial combat.

With what had passed in the long interval, long to those whose more than lives, whose very hearts and souls, whose ancient names and sacred honors, were staked on the event, it is not for us to know or inquire. Whether the young champion, for it was generally known that Sir Aradas de Ratcliffe, invested with the golden spurs and consecrated with the order of knighthood, by the sword of the Earl Mareschal, in order to enable him to meet the appellee on equal terms, was appointed, with the full consent of the court of chivalry, champion for the appellant—whether, I say, the young champion ever doubted, and wished he had waited some fairer opportunity, when he might win the golden spurs without the fearful risk of dying a shameful death, and tarnishing forever an unblemished name, I know not. If he did, it was a human hesitation, and one which had not dishonored the bravest man who ever died in battle.

Whether the young and gentle maiden, the lovely Guendolen, the most delicate and tender of women, who scarce might walk the earth, lest she should dash her foot against a stone, or breathe the free air of Heaven, lest it should blow on her damask cheek too rudely—whether *she* never repented that she had told him, "for this I myself will gird the sword upon your thigh," when she thought of the bloody strife in which two must engage, but whence one only could come forth alive; when she thought of the mangled corpse; of the black gibbet; of the reversed escutcheon; of the dishonored name; whether she never wept, and trembled, and almost despaired, I know not. If she did not, she was more or less than woman. But her face was pale as ivory, and her eyes wore a faint rose-colored margin, as if she had either wept, or been sleepless, for above one night, when she appeared from her lodging on that awful morning; though her features were as firm and rigid as if they had been carved out of that Parian marble which their complexion most resembled, and her gait and bearing were as steady and as proud as if she were going to a coronation, rather than to the awful trial that should seal her every hope on earth, of happiness or misery.

They little know the spirit of the age of chivalry, who imagine that, because in the tilt, the tournament, the joust, and the carrousel, all was pomp and splendor, music and minstrelsy, and military glory, largesse of heralds and love of ladies, *los* on earth and fame immortal after death, there was any such illusion or enchantment in the dreadful spectacle of an appeal to the judgment of God by wager of battle.

In it there were no gaily decorated lists, flaunting with tapestries and glittering with emblazoned shields; no gorgeous galleries crowded with ladies, a galaxy of beauty in its proudest adornment; no banners, no heralds in their armorial tabards, no spirit-thrilling shouts, no soul-inspiring music, and a solitary trumpet for the signals; but, instead of this, a bare space strewed with sawdust, and surrounded with bare piles, rudely fashioned with the saw and hatchet; an entrance at either end, guarded by men-at-arms, and at one angle, just without the barrier, a huge black gibbet, a block, with the broad axe, the disembowelling knife, and all the hideous paraphernalia of the headsman's trade, and himself a dark and sordid figure, masked and clad in buff of bull's hide, speckled and splashed with the gory stains of many a previous slaughter, leaning against the gallows. The seats for the spectators—for, as all other tragedies of awful and engrossing interest, a judicial combat never lacked spectators—were strewed, in lieu of silken hangings and sendal cushions, with plain black serge; and the spectators themselves, in lieu of the gay, holyday vestments in which they were wont to attend the gay and gentle passages of arms, wore only their every-day attire, except where some friend or favorer of the appellant or appellee, affected to wear white, in token of trust in his innocence, with a belt or kerchief of the colors worn by the favored party.

Amid all this gloom and horror, the only relieving point was the superb surcoats and armor of the constable and mareschal, and the resplendent tabard of the king-at-arms, who sate on their caparisoned horses without the lists, backed by a powerful body of men-at-arms and archers, as judges of the field, and doomsters of the vanquished in that strife which must end in death and infamy to one or other of the combatants.

From an early hour, long before the first gray dawn of day, all the seats, save those preserved for certain distinguished personages, had been occupied by a well-dressed crowd; all the avenues to the place were filled, choked, to overflowing; the roofs, the balconies, the windows of every house that commanded a view of the lists, the steeples of the neighboring churches, the battlements and the bartizans of the gray old castle, already gray and old in the second century of Norman dominion, were crowded with eager and excited multitudes—so great was the interest created by the tidings of that awful combat, and the repute for prowess of the knights who were pitted in it to meet and part no more, until one should go down forever.

And now the shadow was cast upon the dial, close to the fated hour of ten, from the clear wintry sun, to borrow the words of the greatest modern poet—

Which rose upon that heavy day,
And mocked it with its steadiest ray.

The castle gates rolled open on their hinges, grating harsh thunder; and forth came a proud procession, the high justiciary and his five associate judges, with their guard of halberdiers, and the various high officers of the court, among these the sheriff, whose anxious and interested looks, and, yet more, whose pale and lovely daughter, hanging on his arm, so firm and yet so wan and wo-begone, excited general sympathy.

And when it was whispered through the multitude, as it was almost instantaneously—for such things travel as by instinct—that she was the betrothed of the young appellant, and that, to win her with his spurs of gold, he had assumed this terrible emprize, all other excitement was swallowed up in the interest created by the cold and almost stern expression of her lovely features, and her brave demeanor.

And more ladies than one whispered in the ears of those who were dearest to them, "If he be vanquished, she will not survive him!"

And many a manly voice, shaken a little of its firmness, made reply—

"He may be slain, but he cannot be vanquished."

Scarcely had the members of the court been seated, with those of the higher gentry and nobility, who had waited to follow in their suite, when, from the tower of a neighboring cisterian house, the clock struck ten; and, now, as in that doleful death scene in Parisina,

The convent bells are ringing,
But mournfully and slow:
In the gray square turret swinging,
With a deep sound to and fro.
Heavily to the heart they go.
Hark! the hymn is singing—
The song for the dead below,
Or the living who shortly shall be so;
For a departing being's soul
The death hymn peals, and the hollow bells knoll.

While those bells were yet tolling, and before the echoes of the last stroke of ten had died away, two barefooted friars entered the lists, one at either end, each carrying a Bible and a crucifix; and at the same moment the two champions were seen advancing, each to his own end of the lists, accompanied by his sureties or godfathers, all armed in complete suits of chain mail; Sir Aradas as appellant, entering at the east, Sir Foulke at the left, end of the enclosure.

Here they were met each by one of the friars, the constable and mareschal riding close up to the barriers, to hear the plighting of their oaths.

And at this moment, the eyes of all the multitude were riveted on the forms of the two adversaries, and every judgment was on the stretch to frame auguries of the issue, from the thewes, the sinews, and the demeanor, of the two champions.

It was seen at a glance that Sir Foulke d'Oilly was by far the stronger-built and heavier man. He was exceedingly broad shouldered, and the great volume of his humeral muscles gave him the appearance of being round-backed; but he was deep-chested, and long-armed; and, though his hips were thick and heavy, and his legs slightly bowed—perhaps in consequence of his almost living on horseback—it was evident that he was a man of gigantic strength, impaired neither by excess nor age, for he did not seem to be more than in his fortieth year.

Sir Aradas de Ratcliffe, on the contrary, was nearly three inches taller than his opponent, and proportionally longer in the reach; but altogether he was built more on the model of an Antinous than a Hercules. If he was not very broad in the shoulders, he was singularly deep and round in the chest, and remarkable for the arched hollow of his back and the thinness of his flanks. His arms and legs were irreproachable, and, all in all, he trod the firm earth with

"A station like the herald Mercury,
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill."

But it was from the features of the two men that most took their auspices, and that the friends of Aradas drew confident augury of his triumph.

The face of Sir Foulke d'Oilly was placid and colorless, with huge over-lapping brows shading his small, keen eyes, with a pent-house of grizzly bristles, large pendant cheeks, a sinister hooked nose, and a mouth indicative of lust, cruelty, and iron firmness—altogether a sordid vulturine type of man.

The features of Aradas, on the contrary, were clean, clear, fleshless, and finely marked; a broad, smooth forehead, straight-cut black eyebrows, well-opened hazel eyes, with a tawny flash when excited, like to that of a lion or an eagle, a nose slightly aquiline, and a mouth not less benevolent than resolute. No one could look at him and his opponent, without thinking instinctively of the gallant heaven-aspiring falcon matched with the earthly carrion vulture.

Nor was there less meaning or omen in the tone of their voices, as they swore.

Men paused to listen breathlessly; for among the lower classes on the field there were heavy bets pending on the issue, and the critical judges of those days believed that there was much in the voice of a man.

As each entered the lists, he was met by a friar, who encountered him with the question, "Brother, hast thou confessed thy sins this morning?"

To this, d'Oilly muttered a reply, inaudible to the questioner; but Aradas made answer, in a voice that rang like a silver bell, "I have confessed my sins, father, and, thanks to the Lord Jesus, have received absolution and the most holy sacrament of his body."

The questions were then put to both, to be answered with the hand on the evangelists and the lip on the crucifix—

"Do you hereby swear that your former answers and allegations are all true; that you bear no weapons but those allotted by the court; that you have no charms about you; that you place your whole trust in God, in the goodness of your cause, and in your own prowess?"

To this solemn query, Sir Foulke replied only by the two words, "I swear!" and those so obscurely uttered, that the constable called on him to repeat them.

But Sir Aradas raised his head, and looked about him with a frank and princely air. "I hereby swear," he said, "that which I swore heretofore—that Sir Foulke d'Oilly is a murtherer, a liar, and a traitor—to be true, and on his body I will prove it; that I have not nor will use any weapons save what the court allot me; that I wear neither charm nor talisman; and that, save in my good cause, my own right hand, and my trust in God, I have not whereon to rest my hope, here or hereafter. So may He help me, or desert me at my utmost need, on whose evangelists I am now sworn."

Then the godfathers led the men up face to face, and, each grasping the other by the mailed right hand, they again swore—

The appellant, "My uttermost will I do, and more than my uttermost, if it may be, to slay thee on this ground whereon we stand, or to force thee to cry 'craven'—so help me God, in his most holy heaven!"

And the appellee, "My uttermost will I do, and more, if it may be, than my uttermost, to prove my innocence upon thy body, on this ground whereon we stand—so help me God in the highest!"

The same difference was observed in the voices of the two men, as they again swore; for while the tones of Aradas had the steel-tempered ring of the gallant game-cock's challenge, the notes of Sir Foulke were liker to the quavering croak of the obscene raven.

Then the godfathers retired them, till they stood face to face, with thirty feet between them, and delivered to them the arms allotted by the court. These were—a dagger, with a broad, flat blade, eighteen inches in length, worn in a scabbard on the right side, behind the hip; an estoe, or short sword, of about two feet six, with a sharp point and grooved bayonet-blade, hanging perpendicularly on the left thigh; and a huge two-handed broadsword, four feet from guard to point, with a hilt of twenty inches, and a great leaden pommel to counterbalance the weight of the blade in striking.

Their defensive arms were nearly similar. Each wore a habergeon, or closely fitting shirt of linked mail, with mail sleeves, mail hose, poldrons, genouillieres, and shoes, of plated splents of steel; and flat-topped helmets, with avantailles and beavers. But the neck of Sir Foulke d'Oilly was defended by the new-fashioned gorget of steel plates, while Aradas adhered to the old mail hood or tippet, hooked on to the lower rim of his beaver. And it was observed, that while d'Oilly wore his small heater-shaped shield on his left arm, de Ratcliffe threw his over his shoulder, suspended from the chain which held it about his neck, so as to leave both his arms free to wield his mighty war sword.

Beyond this, it was only noted that in the casque of Sir Aradas was a lady's glove, and on his left arm an azure scarf, fringed with gold, such as the pale girl on the seneschal's arm wore, over her snow-white cymar, crossing her left shoulder and the region of her heart.

And now the godfathers left the lists, and none were left within them, save the two champions facing each other, like two pillars of steel, as solid and as motionless, until the word should be given to set on, and the two barefooted friars, crouching on their knees in the angles of the lists, muttering their orisons before the crucifixes, which they held close before their eyes, as if to shut out every untoward sight which might mar their meditations.

Then a single trumpet was blown, a sharp, stern, warning blast, and a herald made proclamation:

"Oyez! oyez! oyez! This is *champ clos*, for the Judgment of God. Therefore, beware all men, to give no aid or comfort to either combatant, by word, deed, sign, or token, on pain of infamy and mutilation."

Then the Constable rose in his stirrups, and cried aloud—

"Let them go!"

And the trumpet sounded.

"Let them go!"

And again the trumpet sounded.

"Let them go! Do your duty!"

And the Earl Mareschal answered,

"And may God defend the right!"

And, the third time, the trumpet sounded, short and direful as the blast of doom; and at that deadly summons, with brandished blades, both champions started forward; but the first bound of Sir Aradas carried him across two-thirds of the space, and his sword fell like a thunderbolt on the casque of his antagonist, and bent him almost to his knee. But that was no strife to be ended at a blow; and they closed, foot to foot, dealing at each other sweeping blows, which could not be parried, and could scarce be avoided, but which were warded off by their armor of proof.

It was soon observed that Sir Foulke d'Oilly's blows fell with far the weightier dint, and that, when they took effect, it was all his lighter adversary could do to bear up against them. But, on the other hand, it was seen that, by his wonderful agility, and the lithe motions of his supple and elastic frame, Sir Aradas avoided more blows than he received, and that each stroke missed by his enemy told almost as much against him as a wound.

At the end of half an hour, no material advantage had been gained; the mail of either champion was broken in many places, and the blood flowed, of both, from more wounds than one; that of Aradas the more freely.

But as they paused, perforce, to snatch a moment's breath, it was clear that Sir Aradas was the fresher and less fatigued of the two; while Sir Foulke was evidently short of wind, and hard pressed.

It was not the young man's game to give his enemy time—so, before half a minute had passed, he set on him again, with the same fiery vigor and energy as before. His opponent, however, saw that the long play was telling against him, and it appeared that he was determined to bring the conflict to a close by sheer force.

Whirling his huge sword round his head, he brought it down with a transverse cut to the right, which alighting, at the exact distance, full on the casque of Sir Aradas, dashed the whole crown and vizor of the treacherous headpiece to atoms, leaving only a portion of the cervelleire covering the nape of the neck, and the beaver supporting the mail tippet, which still protected his throat and neck.

The fight seemed ended by that single blow; and, despite the injunction of the herald, a general groan burst from the assembly. Guendolen covered her face with her hands for a second, but then looked up again, with a wild and frenzied eye, compelled to gaze, to the last, on that terribly fascinating scene.

But then was it shown what might there is in activity, what resistless power in quickness. For, leaping and bounding round the heavy giant, like a sword player, letting him waste his every blow on the empty air or in the impassive sawdust, Aradas plied his sword like a thresher's flail, dealing every blow at his neck and the lacings of his casque, till fastening after fastening broke, and it was clear that d'Oilly, too, would be unhelmed in a few more moments.

The excitement of the people was ungovernable; they danced in their seats, they shouted, they roared. No heralds, no pursuivants, no men-at-arms, could control them. The soul of the people had awakened, and what could fetter it!

Still, wonderful as they were, the exertions of Aradas, completely armed in heavy panoply, were too mighty to last. The thing must be finished. Down came the trenchant blade with a circling sweep, full on the jointed plates of d'Oilly's new-fangled gorget. Rivet after rivet, plate after plate, gave way with a rending crash; his helmet rolled on the ground. He stood bare-headed, bare-throated, unarmed to the shoulders.

But the same blow which unhelmed d'Oilly disarmed Aradas. His faithless sword was shivered to the hilt; and what should he do now, with only that weak, short estoe, that cumbrous dagger, against the downright force of the resistless double-handed glaive?

Backward he sprang ten paces. The glittering estoe was in his right, the short massive dagger in his left. He dropped on his right knee, crouching low, both arms hanging loosely by his sides, but with his eye glaring on his foeman, like that of the hunted tiger.

So soon as Sir Foulke had rallied from the stunning effects of the blow, and saw how it was with him, his enemy disarmed, and, as it seemed, at his power, then a hideous sardonic smile glared over his lurid features, and he strode forward with his sword aloft, to triumph and to kill. When he was within six paces of his kneeling adversary, he paused, measured his distance—it was the precise length for one stride, one downright blow, on that bare head, which no earthly power could now shield against it.

There was no cry now among the people—only a hush. Every heart stood still in that vast concourse.

"Wilt die, or cry 'craven?'"

The eye of Aradas flashed lightning. Lower, he crouched lower, to the ground. His left hand rose slowly, till the guard of his dagger was below his own left, and his enemy's right, eye. His right hand was drawn so far back, that the glittering point of the estoe only showed in front of his hip. Lower, yet lower, he crouched, almost in the attitude of the panther couchant for his spring.

One stride made Sir Foulke d'Oilly forward; and down, like some tremendous engine, came the sword-sweep—the gazers heard it whistle through the air as it descended.

What followed, no eye could trace, no pen could describe. There was a wild cry, like that of a savage animal; a fiery leap through a cloud of whistling dust; a straight flash through the haze, like lightning.

One could see that somehow or other that slashing cut was glanced aside, but how, the speed of thought could not trace.

It was done in a second, in the twinkling of an eye. And, as the dust subsided, there stood Aradas, unmoved and calm as the angel of death, with his arms folded, and nothing in his hand save the dagger shivered to the guard. And at his feet lay his enemy, as if stricken by a thunderbolt, with his eyes wide open and his face to heaven, and the deadly estoe buried, to the gripe, in the throat that should lie no more, forever.

Pass we the victor's triumph, and the dead traitor's doom; pass we the lovers' meeting, and the empty roar of popular applause. That was, indeed, the judgment of God; and when God hath spoken, in the glory of his speechless workings, it is good that man should hold his peace before him.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The End.

And all went merry as a marriage bell.
Childe Harold.

It were, perhaps, as well to close this chapter ere it is begun, and to lay down the pen unstained, for with the wager of battle the interest and the agony of the tale is ended.

A time-honored custom, however, yet one perchance more to be honored in the breach than the observance, has prescribed it on the writer of romance to leave no individual of his *dramatis personæ* undisposed of in the end.

The raptures of lovers are not to be described; and if the pen of the ready writer may gain inspiration to delineate the workings of strong mental passions, of intense moral or physical excitements, to depict stormy wrath, the agonies of hope deferred, the slow consuming pangs of hopeless regret, there is one thing that must ever defy his powers of representation—the calm enjoyment of every day domestic happiness; the easy and unvarying pleasures of contentment; the placid routine of hourly duties, hourly delights, hourly labors, hourly affections; and that soft intermixture of small cares and passing sorrows, with great blessings tasted, and great gratitudes due, which make up the sum of the most innocent and blessed human life.

And such was the life of Sir Aradas and the fair Guendolen de Ratcliffe. For dull must be his heart and imagination who cannot perceive, without being told in so many words, that, when the merry month of May brought verdure to the fields and foliage to the deep woods, and millions of bright wild flowers to the dewy meads, and songs to the mating birds, and gentler affections to the heart of man, the young champion led his nobly-won bride to the altar, in the chapel of her sires, while the dales resounded with the songs of rejoicing girls, and the honest joy of a bold, free peasantry.

Sir Yvo de Taillebois lived long enough to see his child's children gathered to his knee; to prognosticate, in their promise, fresh honors to his high-born race; but not so long as to outlive his intellect, his powers to advise, console, enjoy, and, above all, to trust in God. Full of years and full of honors, he was gathered to his fathers in the ripeness of his time, and he sleeps in a quiet churchyard in his native valley, where a green oak tree shades his ashes, and the ever-vocal music of the rippling Kent sings his sweet, natural requiem.

Eadwulf the Red never recovered from the starvation and exposure endured in his escape and subsequent wanderings; and, though he received the priceless boon of liberty, and the King's free pardon for his crimes, though he passed his declining days in the beautiful cottage nigh Kentmere, with his noble brother, his fair wife, and all the treasured little ones about him, who grew up like olive branches round Kenric's happy, honored board, with everything to soothe his stubborn heart and soften his morose and bitter spirit, he lived and died a gloomy, disappointed, bitter, and bad-hearted man, a victim in some sort of the bad and cruel system, which had debased his soul more even than it had degraded his body.

Yet it was not in that accursed system, altogether; for the gallant and good Kenric, and his sweet wife, Edith the Fair, were living proofs, even, as the noble poet sings,

"That gentleness and love and trust
Prevail o'er angry wave and gust;"

and it was no less the spur that the dear spirit raised, than the grand force of that holiest Saxon institution, Trial by Jury, that raised Kenric from a Saxon Serf to be an English Freeman.

For the National Era.

WATCHING THE SHADOWS.

BY BARRY BRAKE.

I.

Where the bright Brandywine
Flows through the meadows,
Sat I with Madeline,
Watching the shadows—
Watching cloud-shadows,
That swept o'er the plain,
Now on the meadows,
And now on the grain.

II.

Ever the fair sunshine
Followed each darking,
"So," murmured Madeline,
"Bliss follows carking—
Bliss follows carking,
And ease follows care,
And a voice to my harking
Sings, 'Never despair.'

III.

"The waters that flow by us
Bid us be glad;
And the swallows that go by us
Virelays add;
The breezes that blow us
Are wanton with play,
And the flowers below us
Are happy as they.

IV.

"For ever each darking
Is followed by light,
And all sounds to my harking
Are hymns of delight."
So murmured Madeline—
Low-voiced and lower,
Flowed on the Brandywine—
Musical flower.

V.

Listened I closily,
To her conceit;
Answered then prosily,
"Blithe-hued and sweet
Are these young dreams of thine;
Couleur de rose
Glitter these gleams of thine;
Life as it goes,

VI.

"Hardly will leave them
Their richness of hue;
Noon will bereave them
Of morn's early dew:
For though every shadow
By light is pursued,
Over grain-field and meadow,
O'er river and wood,

VII.

"The light is pursued, too,
By shadows as fast;
And sunshine subdued, too,
In night shade at last."
Rippled the Brandywine,
Idyls out-trilling;
Blue eyes of Madeline
Bright tears were filling.

VIII.

But quick, like the sunlight
Dispelling cloud shade,
A smile gleam grew bright
In the eyes of the maid;
Her small hand in my hand
She trustingly laid,
And her voice fell as bland
As a lute while she said—

IX.

"Yes, night shade may banish
The light from the plain,
But night shade must vanish
In the morning again;
And though victor shadows
May triumph, and will,
Yet the blooms in the meadows
Are odorous still.

X.

"The river will flow
Unhindered and brave,
All grasses will grow
And all tree-boughs will wave;
And the stars will be keepers
O'er dew-begemmed leaves,
Like sentries round sleepers
Whose jewels lure thieves.

XI.

"So, let the night thicken,
The night brings a charm,
And morning will quicken
To life rich and warm
The grains and the flowers;
And birds will be loud,
Each thrush in its bower,
Each lark in its cloud."

XII.

But here hushed the speaker,
And blushed like the glow
In the curve of a beaker
When the red wine is low;
And her eyes fell to Brandywine,
Murmuring low—
So sat I with Madeline,
Gossipped we so.

Movement in Indiana.—An association, under the title of "The Indiana Kansas Industrial and Literary Association," has been formed at Dublin, Indiana. The objects are: 1. To secure a territory sufficiently large for a home and a farm for each family. 2. To furnish buildings and machinery for the different mechanical and manufacturing pursuits of the company. 3. To establish a manual labor school, acceptable to all, where students can pay their expenses by their daily labor. 4. To erect suitable buildings for meetings, lyceums, and the general purposes of the association, in pursuance of the plans of the society. Families will go on to Kansas as rapidly as tenements can be provided for their accommodation when they arrive there. It is expected that five hundred persons will remove, under the auspices of the society, at an early day.

For the National Era.

BELL SMITH ABROAD.

XXI.—THE CATACOMBS.

Paris, *March*, 1855.

Some time in the year of 1774, a large house in what is now known as the Latin Quarter, then the most fashionable part of Paris, suddenly fell to the ground. The house did not fall upon its inmates like one shaken by an earthquake, or overthrown by a great wind, but seemed to have crumbled into the very earth, and, in place of a heap of ruins, presented almost a cavity. This event created intense terror, but this terror was infinitely augmented when another and another huge house disappeared in the like manner. The Government, at that time exclusively engaged in hunting down offending authors of epigrams pointed at Du Barry and Louis the Well-Beloved, turned its attention to discovering, if possible, what subterranean power was swallowing up the houses of Paris.

About this time another circumstance assisted in directing their pursuit. Paris was beset by robbers, smugglers, and political offenders, who seemed to possess the power of disappearing at will, and thereby setting at defiance the wrath of offended law. An offender would be tracked to his abode, the house immediately surrounded, but, on breaking in and searching the premises, the bird would be gone, and the police painfully impressed with a belief in witchcraft. At last, however, through the agency of gold, three of the most noted offenders were secured. Subjected to hideous tortures, a confession was wrung from one, that threw light upon the strange fact of fallen houses and disappearing thieves. The execution of these three men is so graphically told by Monsieur Berthet, in his "Catacombs of Paris," and gives such a picture of the times when "Louis the Well-Beloved" held sway in France, that I cannot forbear translating it for your readers.

Eight in the morning had just ceased ringing from the clock of the Palace of Justice. One of those thin transparent fogs, rising from the Seine of a September morning, enveloped the towers of the Grand Châtelet, the clock of Saint Jean en Grève, and the pointed roofs of Hotel de Ville. The Place de Grève had not then the regularity and beauty of to-day—surrounded by old houses with gables to the street, no three of which were in line, and overhanging stories, while the pavement was broken and dirty. The streets in the neighborhood were narrow, sombre, and unwholesome. In fact, it was yet the old and melancholy Grève of the middle ages—a place historically filled with souvenirs, but souvenirs cruel, cold, and bloody.

This day in particular the Grève had an expression dark and sinister. Facing the Hotel de Ville, in the centre of the place, was a hideous scaffold. One saw the upright posts supporting a heavy beam, from which hung, trembling in the chill wind, three cords with nooses prepared. It was not the scaffold, nor the cords, nor the expressive noose, that chilled the blood, and made the heart sick. On the ground was a mysterious instrument, shaped something like a wheel, against which leaned an iron bar, accompanied by chains and cords, and on which one saw heavy dark stains by former torture. This was the wheel, the last invention of cruel ingenuity.

An audience was not wanting for this heartless spectacle. The execution would not take place for hours later, yet the place was filled to overflowing—an overflowing that rolled back into neighboring streets quite out of view, where the crowd amused itself by cries, songs, brutal jests, and fights. The soldiers of the Prevost, with their grand batons, with difficulty opened a way for the officers, while the guard about the scaffold could scarce keep their ranks against the rolling, tumultuous crowd. The gamins of Paris, perched on sheds, balconies, and trees, screamed shrilly at each other. The pedlers, then more numerous than now, threaded the crowd, giving utterance to their strange appeals. A singer, stationed on a corner, charmed the ears of a wide circle by a song which he accompanied on a cracked violin. One could have said that it was a market, a fête, or fair, but for the giant gallows, with its pendant cords, which gave the true character of the attraction.

But it was not only the bourgeoise, and mass of common people, who invaded the Grève. The privileged classes, the lords and ladies of the court, were also there. In place, however, of crowding the pave, they occupied reserved seats at windows of houses convenient, the balconies of Hotel de Ville, and even the roofs of neighboring buildings. On every side, gay gentlemen, perfumed abbés, courtly dames, elegantly dressed, advanced their powdered heads to catch a better view, or nod one to the other. The court seemed to be enjoying a reception in place de Grève. Window saluted window with smiles of satisfaction. Several curious nobles, unable to secure windows, had driven their equipages far into the crowd, and sat yawning, while their footmen scowled insolently at the jeering crowd. Since the death of La Brinvilliers, of which Madame de Sevigné, crowded upon the street, could see but the head, since the execution of Damien, which a young and beautiful duchess described with such evident delight—never had the place of Hotel de Ville witnessed so numerous and brilliant an assembly.

It was not a poisoner in the person of a marquis, nor yet a *regicide-devoté*, that called this immense crowd from their various homes to witness a brutal death, but a common robber with two accomplices, about whose career had so long hung a fearful mystery. Their various deeds, greatly exaggerated, were not more surprising than those of ordinary occurrence coming to light each day; but their successful concealments, their sudden appearance and as sudden escapes, brought to belief almost the witchcraft of old. But gold has a power superior even to witchcraft—and now, slowly making its way through the tumultuous crowd like a vessel working against a tide, the cortège appears with its victims bound hand and foot between.

I stop without translating the graphic account of the terrible torture known as "breaking on the wheel," and the subsequent death. But, having introduced this well-written account, as an artist gives an overture to a drama, let me say, in connecting it, that the confession of one of these wretched criminals led to an investigation of the subterranean chambers then under nearly one-third of Paris. Evidently quarries from which almost in its infancy Paris had materials for building—subsequently used as places for burial—the entrances had been gradually built over or destroyed, until the existence of them became in the public mind a matter of doubt and tradition, and the events to which we have alluded called the attention of authorities to their existence. That vast and noisome chambers connected by galleries existed under the densely-populated and closely-built district of St. Germain, under such huge piles as St. Sulpice, Pantheon, and the Palace of the Luxembourg, was a fact to make one wonder—and many a time, while living in Place St. Sulpice, my mind went down into the darksome regions, to grope blindly among the dead of a fogotten age.

It had been our continued intention to visit the "Catacombs," but the curiosity was somewhat allayed by a fearful picture of a few hours' stay in them, given by our talented artist, Mr. Walcutt. By his industry and genius he had carried away a warmly-contested prize from an academy sustained by the Government, the possession of which gave him the right to visit many places, among which were the "Catacombs." He did not, however, avail himself of this privilege, until a party of English and American officers arrived, with permits from the Government, and proposed that he should accompany them. They set off one noon, making the entrance near Hotel Cluny, preceded by a guide. This entrance, nor indeed any other, is not of a striking character. They entered a low doorway, and immediately commenced descending a narrow spiral stairway, old, worn, and dirty. He counted sixty steps before arriving at the end, where a narrow gallery, cut through the soft stone, presented itself. The passage they traversed was so low and so narrow, two could scarcely walk abreast, while the ceiling bore the marks of torches carried through it perhaps centuries before. Numerous other passages crossed or led from this, and our friend was fast coming to the conclusion that these narrow burrows in the earth were anything but the grand excavations he had been taught to expect, when they came suddenly upon a huge chamber hewn from the solid rock. The guide lit a number of torches, and, distributing them among the rocks, called upon the party to mark the effect. The glare of light upon the white rocks, reflected by the lofty ceiling, sustained by huge pillars of masonry, and dashing with flashing starts towards the gloomy recesses, and yet gloomier entrances, as if attempting to penetrate and drive back the night—had certainly a very startling effect.

To one who had explored the Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, had traversed great fields of night, crossed lakes, and heard the mysterious rush of unseen rivers, and watched the long line of red lights descending precipices, this view of the Catacombs dwindled into utter insignificance. But humanity throws an interest around objects nature cannot approach. The doubtful origin of these chambers, the mysterious use assigned them in ages gone by, the fact that, above, a great city rung out its busy life—all served to create an awe no mere exhibition of nature, however magnificent, could call into existence.

Our friend wished to do in the Catacombs as he often had done during a summer's residence near the Mammoth Cave—watch the effect of lights leaving him, so as from a good view to secure a sketch of the strange interior. He seated himself without speaking to the party that went on, not noticing his movement. The groupings and lights, as the company left him, were certainly striking, and worth the arrangement. As they approached the further end of the huge chamber, he rose to follow, when their sudden disappearance into one of the low galleries—so many of which cross and re-cross the principal passage—alarmed him, and he hastened forward, only in the darkness that immediately followed, to stumble over a pile of stones. He rose, and, again hastening forward, ran against a pillar, and fell back stunned and bleeding. He gained his feet, and hesitated. His first thought was, that the party with their guide would return that way—his next, that, missing him, they would retrace their steps in his search. To attempt following them would be madness. He could only grope his way in blind darkness, though unknown and perhaps unexplored passages; while remaining in one place, he at least would be in the route best known to the guides. So, seating himself, he counted the weary minutes, that seemed hours, in that dreary waiting. Indistinct remembrance of stories told him of persons who had disappeared and perished in these fearful depths, came up to make more unbearable his terrible position. There was no sound of life, save from the slow dropping of water, that seemed the very voice of solitude itself.

Hours seemed wearing away. Once he thought he heard the sounds of steps, and, starting up, he felt his way along—hastening to meet them. In his groping he found, as he thought, the gallery by which they passed out, and he turned along it, but meeting no one, paused, hesitated, and then returned. He walked back, as he thought, toward the chamber from which his companions had vanished—but, after blindly pushing on, he became convinced, from the distance he traversed, that he had missed his way, and was indeed lost. It required but a moment to realize his position; and the cold perspiration started from every pore as he did so. What days might elapse before, in this labyrinth of winding passages, he could be found—what suffering, what a death, seemed inevitable! There was no utility now in remaining still—he might stumble upon the track of his friends—might find the stairs by which they had descended, or discover one of the many outlets yet remaining open. Blindly groping, he painfully and slowly continued—now stumbling over loose stones—now stepping in pools of water from which he drank—and pausing every few moments to catch the sound of returning steps—yet pausing in vain—for around him reigned the stillness of the tomb. The tomb, indeed—for, whatever was the origin of these huge excavations, they had been used as burial-places—and every few moments, as he felt his way, his hand resting upon a smooth stone, he thought to grasp the skull of some unfortunate, consigned to this fearful resting-place perhaps centuries before.

Hours—they seemed ages—went by, and he began to experience that fatigue which comes from excessive mental excitement—and with it the dejection that said—Despair. Seating himself, his hearing keenly alive to every sound, he tried to rest—tried to be calm—tried to believe that in a few moments he would catch the sound of coming footsteps—hear the blessed human voice once more. But all in vain; the brooding silence—the cold, earthly air—above all, the intense darkness, seemed to weigh upon his very heart, and crush out hope. He again started to his feet, to continue his efforts. Turning a corner suddenly, he came upon a dying torch stuck in the crevice of a rock. No crew in a polar sea, searching for lost comrades, ever came unexpectedly upon traces of their friends, no lost friends ever stumbled upon evidences of neighboring humanity, with the same joy our friend seized upon this brand. The company had evidently passed that way. Would they return? He seized the torch, and attempted to blow the fire into life again—he waved it hurriedly, but the flickering flame only served for a second to light the pillars, the jutting rocks and dark recesses, then plunge all in darkness more oppressive, more profound than before. Fate seemed against him; yet, from the appearance of the torch, these very companions had passed but a few moments before. What signified that? They had not encountered him—probably had not missed him—perhaps never would. Why had he not shouted? They might have heard him. He did so now. Throwing his entire voice into one effort, he uttered a fearful cry, that rang out dismally along the passages, and came back again in dull echoes; but these last alone replied. He again sat down, resting his head upon his hands; he heard the question ringing in his ears again and again, with such fearful pertinacity, "Am I to die in this manner?" He heard again the water dripping in regular beats, with a monotony more terrible than utter silence; for his imagination saw in it a huge clock beating out a measure for the life of men. He was startled to hear the sound of the organ and church music—deep, heavy, and indistinct—doubtless vespers at St. Sulpice. And he thought of the crowds entering that huge edifice, and listening to the divine music, little dreaming of the suffering and death far down in the black chambers beneath them. He thought of the great noisy world above, of the rattling voitures, laugh of children, hum of men, and gossiping of women. The companions who had accompanied him had probably returned to their homes, forgetful of him.

From this his mind wandered to other scenes, far, far away over the wide Atlantic—scenes of his childhood. He saw once more the Sciota flowing sunnily away, now widening into a lake—now slumbering apparently under huge banks covered with forest trees. Ah! how beautiful; how near and dear all seem to him! Or he saw a home as widly beautiful, but nearer still, where the winds whispered among bending trees, and wild birds sang, and two lovely eyes looked long, yet looked in vain for him who should never, never come again—never be heard of in his loathsome burial-place. Then the mind took up the dimly-remembered stories of persons lost in these vast chambers, and stumbled over by exploring parties after the rats and half eaten their bodies. He could not bear the thought—he would make one more desperate effort for life. Starting forward, he felt hastily his way about the huge chamber in which he was, in search of an entrance, but without success, and at last fell to the earth, in utter insensibility. When he came again to consciousness, the blessed light of day was shining upon him, and friends were about his bed, watching eagerly his return to life. Their story was as he had suspected. They were on their return before one of the party noted his absence; and then, quite a dispute arose as to whether he had entered at all. They were positive on both sides of the question. But one of them was so earnest in his appeals to their humanity, asserting positively that he had seen their lost comrade but a minute before, that, although the rest considered it quite absurd that any one would willingly drop behind in such a place, they turned to search for him. Had he remained where first he lost them, the greater part of his suffering would have been saved him. But after carefully retracing their steps, and asking the old man who had opened the entrance for them, and hearing his assertion that the same number came out that he had permitted to go in, they laughed at their fears, and separated.

It is a singular fact that one of the company who had denied at first, and felt satisfied in his denial, that Mr. W. was one of the party—after they had separated, suddenly remembered a little circumstance which brought the missing friend to mind. He hastened to his room, and, not finding him there, to his various places of resort, but with like success. As the night wore on, and no tidings of the lost could be had, he felt so certain of the terrible fact that he could not sleep, and at last hastened to the proper authorities with his startling announcement. The entire force was at once put in requisition; and, after hours of painful search, our hero was discovered and conveyed to a place where he could be cared for.

People's Department.

AN APPEAL.

Cleveland, Ohio, *March* 28, 1855.

In one of the darkest hours of the Revolution, America appealed to a foreign Power for aid. Louis XVI, a Catholic sovereign, became our ally; and Lafayette, his great heart throbbing with love for our cause, devoted his counsels and his blood to its service. Time passes. America achieves independence. She grows strong and proud. She has her influence at every civilized court in the world. She counts her sons by millions, and her acres of mountain and plain grow too fast to be counted. Never was a nation with so brilliant a future; never a people with so many promises of a glorious destiny. She has won respect and confidence, where nations of greater age and renown seek for it in vain. Not an impediment, but those of her own creating, opposes the swift coming of that day when the American Republic may command the homage of every nation on earth.

But impediments *do* stand in the way. The true patriotism, the deeply-seated philanthropy of the country have toiled day and night for their removal. Clouds and storms have not quenched their ardor, and the winter of ill success has gathered its frowns in vain. You know, sir, how the hearts of good men were taking courage at the signs of the times, all betokening a swift victory over the great sin of the nation. You know with what ardor the free States wheeled one after another into line, ready to defy and to destroy whatever force the slave States, or rather the Slave Power, might bring against them. But in a night, in an hour when no other danger threatened, the voice of our rejoicing was hushed. Another shout was raised. Another army, masked and disguised, were in the field. No more quarrelling about the institutions of the country, no more contests between Freedom and Slavery; but down with the foreigners! up with the natives! were the shouts which strained the lungs of impulsive folly. In an hour which called for no unusual effort, when no danger threatened, when none existed, except what political knaves had conjured up for political purposes, when the winds were slumbering and the waters calm, a great people rushed from their old and tried crafts, cast off their scarred and trusty armor, hid themselves behind masks and disguises, denied their identity, hesitated, evaded, equivocated—and all for what? To prevent foreigners from getting all the offices, and ruining the country.

Many of our true and tried friends consented to let the Anti-Slavery cause work its way alone, for the "Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner" called them to the higher and holier duty of crushing out foreigners. And so, by poorly-clothed evasions and childish equivocations, they plotted in their secret councils to blot all knowledge of national sins, and to kindle and keep alive international and religious jealousies. Oh! this clannishness, this paltry pandering to the vilest of popular passions, by a people who boast of their great and good supereminence, makes the heart sick. And then, with what arrogance they claim every victory, and with what submissiveness do we yield to their claims! Anti-Slavery men, Anti-Slavery organizations, which last fall buckled on their armor for a good fight, and conquered gloriously, are giving up all their laurels, without hardly a struggle, to this "Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner." Our newspapers have forgotten their old devotion, and, with few exceptions, are either silent as the grave, or devoted to abuse of the unfortunate men who consented to be born in the home of Lafayette, the beautiful fatherland of Schiller and Goethe, or among the moors of poor Ireland.

Last week, a paper came to us from Ravenna—a paper which in time past has done us good service—with an apotheosis of Bill Poole, who was murdered in his own groggery, in a quarrel which his own brutal and filthy language provoked, who "died as the fool dieth," with a lie on his lips. "To this complexion has it come at last."

And then we have the "Know Somethings." Whether they know themselves by a name within a name, like the Know Nothings, has not transpired. Some of our best Anti-Slavery influences, I have reason to believe, are at work for this Order. They talk of uniting the Anti-Papal and Anti-Slavery vote, and electing a President. Are we to understand that this secret society is to act, politically, independent of any Anti-Slavery or Republican party, which does not see fit to proscribe any religious sect? In a word, are we of the North, who love Freedom, and are disposed to stand on that issue, and battle for it with undivided zeal, till Slavery no longer darkens the land—are we to come in conflict with these headless Orders, whose weapons are concealed, and whose policy is hidden behind their midnight machinery? Should the party of Freedom meet the party of Slavery with honest and Democratic openness, or should they meet with masks, and in the night? Oh! if those great and good men, who fought when life was the price of victory, could look from the serene heavens, and see the petty partisan strifes to which this great nation descends, and observe the paltry means we seize on to accomplish paltry ends, how must they blush for the country they raised, and sanctified with their blood! What is a victory, what is a triumph, if no moral purpose, if no humanity, if no virtue, sanctify them? But virtue, humanity, morality, ask for no masked champions, no secret councils, no veiled ballot-boxes. D. A. G.

THINGS IN MICHIGAN.

The following letter is from one who is in a position to speak intelligently.—*Ed. Era.*

Lansing, Mich., *March* 28, 1855.

I have to-day, for the first time, noticed in the *Era* of the 15th inst., a communication from Cass county, in this State, signed "C. Shanahan," which I think ought not to pass unnoticed. I am an entire stranger to the writer of that article, and am consequently bound to believe that he has written frankly sentiments which he honestly entertains. At the same time, I must say that his communication is calculated to mislead those not familiar with Michican politics; and to mislead them, too, in a way not at all gratifying to the great mass of the Republican party of this State.

Mr. Shanahan seems to have formed the idea that the Republican and Know Nothing parties in Michigan are one and the same thing; or, if not precisely the same, that they are loving twin brothers, both seeking the same end, both toiling for the same object. And it is this impression which a stranger would certainly gather from his remarks, to which I object. I object to this because it is certainly a misrepresentation of the facts. The two parties are entirely dissimilar, and so far as the masses are concerned have, I am confident, but little sympathy with each other.

We need only go back to the organization of the Republican party during the summer of 1854, and briefly trace its history to the present time, to prove this. What led to the formation of the Republican party? Was it the spirit of opposition to foreign influence? Was it a feeling of hostility to Catholics or to foreigners? No; nothing of the kind. Every man in Michigan remembers the eloquent "appeal" that went forth to the people, calling upon them to assemble in their sovereign capacity, and condemn the "great wrong which had been perpetrated," and to take such measures as were deemed proper to prevent a recurrence of such evils. That "great wrong" was the repeal of the prohibitory clause of the Missouri Compromise. It had no reference to foreigners or to foreign influence. It said not a word about "paupers and convicts from foreign lands." It was entirely silent as to the "overshadowing influence of the Pope." It lisped not a syllable against Catholicism or Jesuitism. No; it was not a quarrel with any particular form of religion that called the freemen of Michigan together. They met, not to make war upon men who were so unfortunate as to have been born beneath the skies of a foreign land; they met to consider the deeds of our own countrymen, of native-born American citizens.

It was in view of the long list of aggressions perpetrated upon the people of this Union, by the pro-slavery men of the South and their docile servants of the North, that the freemen of Michigan assembled and organized the Republican party. The *immediate* cause of this organization was, as before intimated, the repeal of the prohibitory clause of the Missouri Compromise.

And what was the *action* of that great gathering of Freemen? Was there any cry of "foreign influence," "Catholicism," "Jesuitism?" any modification of our naturalization laws demanded? any manifesto against men not of native birth? No, not a word. But there *was* something said about Slavery; there *was* some talk about that gigantic power which has so long governed the nation with an iron rod; and there were some resolutions passed touching this subject—resolutions, too, which were full of meaning and full of truth, and which the people sanctioned and approved at the ballot-box in a very emphatic manner. It was very decidedly an Anti-Slavery meeting; it was, too, an *American* meeting; but it was far from being a *Know Nothing* meeting—very far from being a *Native American* meeting.

They demanded the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, the prohibition of Slavery in the Territories, declared against the admission of any more slave States, &c., but said not one word in favor of the peculiar doctrines of the so-called Know Nothing organization.

Well, on these issues the people went into the canvass, and the Republican ticket prevailed.

And what was the course of the Governor and Legislature elected? Any Know Nothing doctrines advocated by the Governor in his message? Not a word. The subject of Slavery was very ably, fully, boldly discussed; but foreigners were not assailed, and Native Americanism received not a particle of "aid and comfort."

Well, how stood matters in the Legislature? Slavery received all necessary and proper attention. Very stringent resolutions were passed, instructing the men who *then* represented the people of Michigan in the United States Senate; a law was passed to protect the people of the State against Southern kidnappers; the jails of the State were closed against the admission of persons claimed as fugitive slaves; but no legislation at all, not the first act or resolution, which could be claimed as favoring the peculiar and narrow views of the Know Nothings.

And, still further, there are at the present time some twenty papers in the State that favor the Republican organization, most of them being its bold and out-spoken advocates and supporters. And there is but *one* that comes out decidedly for the Know Nothing party; and, strange to say, that is and has been a Democratic, or, as your correspondent has it, "Locofoco" paper. There is another, the *Detroit Advertiser*, to which your correspondent refers as throwing cold water on the Republican movement, and "trying to divide the party last fall," which appears to have gone over to the Know Nothing organization. So, if the two parties in this State known as the Republican and Know Nothing are the same in fact, it is very singular that the only two organs of the latter party should be found among the most bitter opponents of the former.

I am very confident, also, that the Know Nothing influence, in securing the triumph of the Republican ticket at the last election in this State, is greatly overrated. I have good authority for saying that there are but a few thousand of the Order in the State, and that the members of the lodges, mostly, perhaps unanimously, voted the Democratic or "Locofoco" ticket.

There is another fact, universally acknowledged here; and that is, that nine-tenths, and probably ninety-nine hundredths, of these Know Nothings, who voted the Republican ticket, would have voted just as they did vote, had they not been connected with the first-named organization.

In fact, it is all moonshine for a man to believe that Republicanism and Know Nothingism in Michigan are the same. And I give you my word for it, Mr. Editor, that you can oppose this new-fangled *American* party without giving offence to a great majority of the Republicans of Michigan. We, the Republicans, fight openly against a great and growing evil; they, the Know Nothings, fight in the dark, against an imaginary foe. We extend "equal and exact justice" to all men; they, to all white, native-born Americans. We trust in God, and the intelligence and virtue of the People; they in their secret conclaves, their midnight deliberations, and the bitter and ungenerous prejudices of their partisans. May the right triumph!

Yours, for Freedom, Antrim.

WESTERN KNOW SOMETHINGS.

Cleveland, O., *March* 20, 1855.

The primary object of the Know Something Order is to divorce "Sam" from his unholy alliance with slaveholders, and cause him to put his trust in Freedom. The Anti-Slavery Know Nothings of Ohio are deeply alarmed at the present position of their Order on the great issue. They find that within the Order they are not permitted to discuss the rights of Free Labor, and that the Order, in its official action, utterly ignores and suppresses the agitation of the Slavery question. This is playing as directly into the hands of the Oligarchy as did the Baltimore platforms of 1852. To save the Know Nothings from this quagmire, is the chief aim of the Know Somethings. In answer to numerous inquiries, the Grand Council has directed that the Platform of the Order, with certain directions and explanations, be made public. The following is the Circular.

Jonathan.

Platform of Principles of the Know Somethings.

1. Opposition to all forms of tyranny over the mind and body of man.
2. Neither Nature, nor the Constitution of our country, recognises the right of man to property in man.
3. Principles and character, not birthplace, are the true standard of qualification for citizenship.
4. No adherent of any foreign Power, either political or politico-ecclesiastic, should be eligible to naturalization.
5. There should be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, in any of the Territories, nor should any more slave States be added to the Union.
6. Candidates for political offices should be men of undoubted integrity and sobriety, and known to be in favor of resisting, by all lawful and constitutional means, the aggressions of Popery and Slavery.
7. The People are the rightful source of po-

[SEE FOURTH PAGE.]

TO ADVERTISERS.

H. P. Whitney is our authorized canvassing agent for New York city and vicinity, and will receive and forward advertisements for the *Era* at our lowest rates.

Advertisements can be left at his office, No. 82 Nassau street.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 1855.

The Rainbow shall appear next week.

If Dictum will send his name, with permission to print it with his communication, it shall be forthcoming.

A Thrilling Chapter.—If there be a more thrilling description of the "Wager by Battle," than Herbert furnishes in this week's *Era*, we have never seen it. It will stir the blood of the most sluggish.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

We tender our grateful acknowledgments to L. H. B., West Jefferson, O., A. S., Mount Pleasant, Pa., W. W. McD., Pine Creek, Pa., D. N. N., Braintree, Mass., A. McC., New Philadelphia, O., L. S. A., Painesville, O., and F. W. B., East Walpole, Mass., for the earliest responses to our circular. We shall soon hear from others. The friends of Freedom are neither dead nor sleeping.

We repeat, that from this date, the *Era* will be furnished, for the rest of the volume, to clubs of five or more, for $1 each subscriber.

Herbert's Story Closed.—This week closes the publication of the *Saxon Serf*, a story full of power, evincing a thorough knowledge of the life and manners of the times in which the scene is laid, and replete with noble lessons on the Rights of Man. We learn that it will soon be issued in a volume, so that those of our readers who have not followed it through our columns, may have an opportunity of reading the whole, together.

Bell Smith Abroad again greets our readers. The Letter on our first page will be followed by three more, and the whole series, twenty-four in number, will then appear in book form, from the press of J. C. Derby, New York, 119 Nassau street, with some thirty fine illustrations, by Parisian artists. We predict a rapid sale for the volume.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

We shall print specimen numbers of "Facts for the People" this week, and send them to voluntary agents and others, that they may see what kind of a paper we intend it shall be. Meantime, we again call attention to the Prospectus.

PROSPECTUS
OF THE
Ninth Volume of The National Era,
Washington, D. C.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR;
JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

The *National Era* is an uncompromising opponent of Slavery and the Slave power; an advocate of personal, civil, and religious liberty, without regard to race or creed; a foe to all secret combinations to control the Ballot-Box, whether under the direction of priests or laymen; a friend of Temperance, the Homestead, and all reforms calculated to secure to Labor its just consideration, recompense, and political weight, and to Trade, its Natural Freedom, in virtue of which every man has a right to buy and sell in whatever market he pleases. It believes in the right of individual judgment in all matters, whether of religion or politics, and rejects the dogma of passive obedience and non-resistance in both Church and State; holding that no man who swears to support the Constitution of the United States can deliberately violate his own settled conviction of its meaning, without incurring the guilt of perjury, and that no citizen can obey a human enactment which requires him to commit injustice, without immorality.

It regards Slavery, and the issues involved in it, as forming the great Political Question of the Day; taking the ground, that Slavery, from its necessities, instincts, and habits, is perpetually antagonistic to Freedom and Free Labor, and unchangeably aggressive; that its workings can be counteracted only by a permanent system of measures; that the Whig and Democratic Parties, not having been formed with a view to the issues raised by the Slave Interest, but being held in thrall by it, so far from presenting any resistance to its exactions, afford facilities for enforcing them; and that one or both must be broken up, and the true friends of Liberty be united, without regard to old issues or prejudices, on a Party of Freedom, as a necessary preliminary to the overthrow of the Slave Power. It, therefore, gives its earnest support to the Republican Movement, so far as its policy has yet been developed—a movement which promises to effect such a union.

The *National Era*, while occupying a decided position in Politics, has amply provided in its Literary Miscellany and News Department for the various wants of the Family. Careful abstracts of Intelligence, Domestic and Foreign, are given every week in its columns; during the sessions of Congress, special attention is devoted to its movements; and it has secured the services of some of the most distinguished literary writers of the country.

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EQUAL RIGHTS.

The Legislature of New York is about passing an act prohibiting the exclusion of colored children from the common schools of the State.

The Legislature of Massachusetts will probably pass a similar act, thus recognising the doctrine of equal rights, and repudiating the distinctions of caste. But, in this same Legislature, the Committee on Constitutional Amendments has reported propositions to amend the Constitution so as to make none but citizens by birth eligible to office in this State, and to allow no foreign immigrant to vote hereafter, save such as are already naturalized.

How beautifully such a provision would harmonize in principle and spirit with the act above named!

Texas Debt.—James Hamilton, of South Carolina, has addressed a letter to the creditors of Texas, (of whom he is one,) in which he states that Texas will not assent to the late act of Congress for their benefit, and asks them to suspend all opinion founded on the apparent facts, until he shall submit to them the *projet* of an arrangement, which, he believes, will be satisfactory and advantageous to all parties.

Martin Van Buren, jr., died at Paris on the 20th of March. His father has travelled through the south of Europe with him during the past one or two years. His disease was consumption.

☞ We must ask these of our friends who unluckily have been drawn into the Know Nothing Party, to bear in mind that it is the *organization*, in its nature, objects, principles, and workings, that we attack, not the motives of those belonging to it. It is not for us to decide upon the honesty of this man or that man, but we have a right to comment upon the acts of either, so far as they affect the public welfare. We again say, that not a few have joined the Secret Order with pure aims, but we shall do all we can to detach them from it.

THE FRUIT BEGINNING TO APPEAR.

"Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

Possibly the friends of human rights begin by this time to understand the philosophy embodied in these words of Holy Writ. Last week, the *Era* contained a brief notice of the dreadful riots which disgraced the Election for Municipal Officers, held on the 2d inst., in Cincinnati. On the fourth page the reader will find a more particular account. The bitter prejudices of caste and race were inflamed to the highest pitch; knives, firearms, and even cannon, were freely used; the conflict was a bloody one; and the ballot-boxes in one of the wards, where the Democrats had the majority, were destroyed.

In our discussion of the subject of naturalization, three months ago, we had occasion to enlarge upon the beneficent operation of our hitherto liberal policy towards foreign immigrants, in wearing away insensibly their national prejudices, and identifying them with the native-born population; we predicted the most mischievous consequences from the working of the new policy of the Know Nothings, just so far as they should attempt to carry it out. Array society in castes, we said, and you put at hazard the very existence of the State. Nothing should be deprecated more than a conflict of nationalities or races in one country; it must divide and waste its energies, retard its development, engender violent and malignant passions. Carry out the Know Nothing policy, and Parties will be organized, not with reference to great Questions of Principle, but on issues between natives and foreigners; and the inevitable antagonisms between them will render the former more jealous, more intolerant, more proscriptive, and the latter more clannish, more exclusive, more Anti-American. We further showed how the new policy would tend to diminish Immigration, how it would lead the naturalized Germans and Irish to sink their national differences and controversies, and combine together against the common oppressor; and we took special pains to point out the reason why it would be cordially sustained by the supporters of Slavery, viz: its certain operation, if established, to prevent that accession of population from abroad, which has so rapidly multiplied the free States, and augmented their political power.

Behold the fruits, and then say, whether men can gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles.

Cincinnati, where Know Nothingism has had time to bear fruit, has this year been the theatre of a bloody conflict of races, which has rendered a fair expression of the will of the People at the ballot-box impossible.

One year ago, in that city, in a struggle on the Common School Question, the Germans generally united with the native-born citizens, against the Irish, and the result was a peaceful triumph of the Right. This year, by the proscriptive policy of the Know Nothings, German and Irish naturalized citizens were driven to combine against a common oppression; and a similar combination is going on in the West, in a new secret Order, called the *Sag Nichts*, which has already carried the municipal elections in Toledo, Sandusky, and Cuyahoga Falls.

As to the effect on Immigration, it is, perhaps, too early to verify our reasoning by an appeal to facts. Still, we cannot forbear calling attention to the remarkable decrease in immigration for the last three months, as shown by the following report of the Commissioners of Emigration, New York:

"The number of immigrants arriving at the port of New York continues extremely small. The total for last month amounted to only 2,069, according to the records of the Commissioners of Emigration. Of this number, 912 were from Germany, 445 from Ireland, 335 from England, 102 from France, 90 from Switzerland, 79 from States, and the remainder from other countries. The number of arrivals for the last three months is shown by the following table, as compared with previous years:

	1853.	1854.	1855.
January	4,901	15,514	7,485
February	11,958	4,446	6,123
March	9,685	3,758	2,069
	26,544	23,718	15,677"

We may reasonably attribute some of this falling off to the increased demand for soldiers, caused by the Eastern war; but, on the other hand, we must remember, that war taxes, war prices, and the consequent suffering among the People, especially where, as is the fact, the war does not awaken popular enthusiasm, would naturally stimulate emigration. The fair inference, therefore, is, that by the newspapers, and through the letters of friends and relatives in this country, they have been apprised of the extraordinary movement among us, to establish a policy hostile to their interests, incompatible with their self-respect, and calculated to degrade them, should they come to our shores, to the condition of an inferior caste; and that this, at least for the time, has checked the tide of immigration.

Look again. "That," we said, "which, more than anything else, wins the favor of the slaveholders to the Know Nothing movement, reconciling them almost to the secrecy of the Order, is its tendency to reduce the tide of foreign immigration, and thereby retard the growth of the *free States*." Recollect, the number of persons of foreign birth in Virginia, to the white native-born population, is as 2½ to 100—in the whole South, as less than 2 to 100; and the accommodations for Catholic worshippers in Virginia are rated at 7,930, while those for Protestants are 850,156! Admit, then, the mischievous effects of Foreignism and Catholicism, as charged by the Know Nothings, the Slave States are totally exempt from them, so that the advocacy of Know Nothingism in that section is founded on a political motive—on a determination to use it to reduce the political power of the North, and as an instrumentality to perpetuate the ascendency of the Slave Power in the Federal Government. That which we clearly indicated at the beginning of this criminal crusade against Foreigners, is now proved by facts. Will our readers seriously ponder the following quotations:

The Hon. Thomas S. Flournoy, the Know Nothing candidate for the Governorship of Virginia, in a recent letter, showing why the South is interested in the success of the new Order, says:

"The South is especially and deeply interested in this question; this immense and annual addition to our population settle in the non-slaveholding States, and the extensive Territories of the West and Northwest, out of which free States will, in consequence, be more speedily formed, increasing with fearful rapidity the balance of power against us."

Ex-Governor Smith, of Virginia, who, when he filled the Chair of State, recommended the expulsion of the free colored people, has lately cut loose from the Democratic party so called, and come out an advocate of Know Nothingism; *why*, he explains in the following extract from a late speech delivered by him in Virginia:

"I will never interfere with foreigners now in the country; but I know foreigners who approve the policy of arresting the importation of foreigners. *The origin of the Know Nothings is a struggle for bread—a frightful and angry question at the North. At the South, it is a political question of high importance. The North has fifty-five more Representatives than the South already. The natural increase of the South is one-third greater than that of the North, because there are greater checks on population there; but the artificial element of foreignism brings 500,000, who settle annually in the free States, with instincts against Slavery, making fifty Representatives in ten years, to swell the opposition to the South! To stop this enormous disproportion, what is our policy? What is the frightful prospect before us? The effect of Know Nothingism is to turn back the tide of immigration, and our highest duty to the South is to discourage immigration. I deprecate it as a great calamity.*"

While these Pro-Slavery men are looking to the Know Nothings to prevent the multiplication of free States, and to reduce their political weight, others in the South are trusting to their efforts to "*nationalize*," as they call it, the People of the free States, so as to lead them to ignore the Slavery Question, and thus allow the perpetuation of the rule of Slavery. Hear the *Louisville* (Ky.) *Journal*:

"We have been informed, on what we regard as wholly unquestionable authority, that a National Council of the American or Know Nothing party was held a few days ago in the city of New York; that it consisted of numerous delegates from all parts of the Union; that a motion was made by one of its members to engraft Free-Soilism upon the party creed; *and that the resolution was voted down unanimously.* We do not know that the American party will fully succeed in nationalizing itself in regard to the Slavery question, but we believe that it is making a sincere and earnest effort to do so, in despite of the exertions of some influential men in its organization; and we hope, trust, and believe, that it will be successful."

But we have not yet done. In our early articles on the subject, we said that one effect of this new party would be, to give a new lease of life to "Old Hunker Democracy," by supplanting the only issue on which it could be prostrated irretrievably, by one which would re-invigorate it, and probably bring it into power once more. And now, what do we see? You tell us you have carried New Hampshire triumphantly! Aye, but you care not to admit, what is a fact, that the vote given for Governor Baker, the Hunker Democratic candidate, is not far short of the heaviest Democratic vote ever cast in that State; so that, one or two more victories of the same kind, (as the Nebraska issue may lose its power,) will leave the State in the hands of the old dynasty.

Worse still in Connecticut: while you have carried the Legislature and Congressmen against the Administration, we are left to guess at the Anti-Slavery character of the members elect, and to speculate upon the fact, that Ingham, the Hunker Democratic candidate for Governor, equals his highest competitor in the popular vote. Where would Connecticut stand to-day, were she called upon to vote on the question of the Presidency? Turning our eyes to the West, we see the Old Line Democracy, reinforced by the German and Irish naturalized citizens, carrying Cincinnati, the most important city at the West, right on the heels of a victory in Detroit.

Yet you tell us that the Know Nothings have broken up the old parties! They have done no such thing. It was the agitation of the question of Slavery that broke them up; and had not this miserable Order started up, to divert the attention and divide the energies of the free States, they would have "staid" broken up, and the People would have formed a great party of Freedom. But the Secret Order, while it absorbed the Whigs, and at first the Free-Soilers, soon gave a new issue to the Old Line Democracy, on which it is rallying its lately scattered forces, and its heavy votes in New Hampshire and Connecticut, with its municipal victories in the West, give evidence of its renewed vitality. What Fusion, animated by the spirit of Freedom, accomplished last year, is now in danger of being subverted by Know Nothingism, animated and controlled by the spirit of Caste and Bigotry.

As we are dealing with some of the fruits of Know Nothingism, we may as well close this article with a notice of a few of its acts.

State Sovereignty is a sacred article in our creed. The real safeguard of the personal rights of the citizen, the true conservative element of the Union, the only sure check upon the dangerous growth of Federal Tyranny, is State Sovereignty. The slaveholders profess devotion to it, but the necessities of the Slave Interest are constantly leading them to the most contradictory acts. Their system of Slavery is purely a matter of State regulation, but they have foisted it within Federal jurisdiction, and brought the whole power of the People of the Union, working through the Federal Government, to sustain it. The Fugitive Slave Act, forced through at their demand, is a stupendous violation of State Sovereignty; and now, by every method that a wicked ingenuity can suggest, the Slave Power seeks to subject the State Courts absolutely to the power of the Federal Courts. Its bill, which passed the Senate last session, to protect United States officers, &c., was virtually a bill to deprive the States of the power of guarding the rights of their citizens. Its avowed determination to carry the Lemmon case before the Supreme Court of the United States, so as to procure a reversal of the decision of the State Court, that no slave can be brought within the limits of New York, without becoming, by that act, *free*, is another blow aimed at State Sovereignty. And what do we now see in Ohio? A girl, thrice brought on *habeas corpus* before the State Courts, and thrice discharged as free, because, as nobody denies, she was conveyed into the State by the will or consent of the master, is impudently arrested by a United States Marshal, on a writ impudently granted by a United States Commissioner, and the assumption is thus boldly made that the State is without power to protect the rights of its inhabitants, and that the Federal Government through its minions may establish in it the slave code, and define who of its people shall be subject to its infernal provisions. This is Centralism with a vengeance—a Centralism that, if tolerated, must crush out every vestige of State Sovereignty.

So much for Slavery. Now, let us see how Know Nothingism, for another object, in another way, is working to the same end.

To the State belongs the right to say, who shall and who shall not vote, who shall and who shall not be a citizen within its jurisdiction. It should jealously guard it, as it should guard all its reserved rights, against Federal encroachment; much more should it shrink from the degradation of abdicating voluntarily any portion of its sovereignty. But Know Nothingism, blinded by prejudice, is willing to degrade the State for the sake of degrading the foreigner. Under its influence, Maine voluntarily abdicates its prerogative to prescribe who shall be citizens and voters within its bounds; and Rhode Island goes still further, begging the Federal Government to give it the protection which its own police power, if properly exercised, might provide, against the evils of foreign criminals and paupers. We print the resolutions of the Legislatures of both States, that our readers may see how harmoniously Know Nothingism is working with Slavery, to aggrandize the Federal Government at the expense of State Rights:

STATE OF MAINE.

In the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five.

An act annulling the naturalization power of Courts in this State.

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted, &c.,* That no court created by the authority of this State, however extended its jurisdiction, or by whatever name designated, nor any functionary pertaining to said court, shall, hereafter, hold or execute any jurisdiction in the administration of the laws of Congress, commonly known as the naturalization law; nor shall said court take cognizance of any application of any alien to be admitted to become a citizen, to make any record or grant, or issue any certificate or other document or paper, whereby any alien shall be naturalized, or made a citizen of the United States; provided that all cases where application has already been made and filed in any court, shall be saved from the operation of the foregoing section.

Sec. 2. This act shall take effect from and after its approval by the Governor.

Approved March 17, 1855.

Anson P. Morrill.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS.

In General Assembly, January Session, A. D. 1855

Resolved by this General Assembly, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they are hereby, requested to urge upon the consideration of Congress the necessity of passing a law imposing severe penalties against the introduction or importation into this country of foreign paupers and foreign criminals, since the introduction of the first-named class of foreigners is calculated to impose unreasonable taxes upon American citizens, and of the latter class, to corrupt the public morals and endanger the public safety.

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they are hereby, requested to use their best exertions to procure the passage, by the National Legislature, of a naturalization law, which shall require a previous continuous residence of twenty-one years in this country to enable an alien to become a citizen thereof; and that all processes and oaths required by such law shall be required to be had and taken exclusively before some circuit or district court of the United States, and before the judge or judges thereof in open court.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit copies of the above resolutions to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to be by them presented to their respective houses of Congress, and to the Governors of the other States, with a request that they be communicated to the Legislatures thereof.

"A SUBSTANTIAL CASUS BELLI" AT LAST.

The well-known *Ion*, the ingenious correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun*, commenting upon the policy of Emancipation in Cuba, announces that the Administration is at last furnished "with a *casus belli*, so long wanting in our controversies with that country." His remarks deserve attention, not so much as reflecting his own opinions, (for *Ion* is not a bloody-minded filibuster, or even Slavery-propagandist,) but as furnishing an insight into the speculations and desires of the "partisans of Slavery." It will be observed that while he presents these in their length and breadth, he takes good care to insinuate incidentally the utter want of preparation in this country to carry out any belligerent measures.

"If, in the long-continued bickerings between the Government of the United States and that of Spain, a substantial *casus belli* has been wanting, it is no longer so. One is quite ready for our acceptance. Cuba is to be Africanized and abolitionized and revolutionized into a free black Government, like St. Domingo. This purpose has been formally announced in the Spanish Cortes by the Government, and was heartily responded to by that body.

"The object so long sought by Great Britain is thus to be speedily attained. No one can doubt that the movement will be supported by the British Government; and if there is anything in the Clarendon declaration and the like declaration of Louis Napoleon, as to the cordial understanding between those two Governments in regard to all matters in both hemispheres, it will apply with full force to this case.

"Spain is now satisfied that she cannot longer retain dominion over Cuba. To abolish Slavery will be to extinguish all her own interests in the possession, and to nullify the interests of all the Cuban proprietors. It is a desperate attempt to render the acquisition of Cuba useless or injurious to the United States.

"It is held by all our Southern statesmen to be the proper policy of this Government to prevent, at all hazards, the conversion of Cuba into a free black community. Such a change will, as they think, be ultimately dangerous to the peace of the South. Yet, we have to choose between the evil and the abandonment of our cherished designs of 'seizing' the island.

"If we do not intend to acquire the island by seizure, or by intrigue, or otherwise, then there will be no occasion for its Africanization. The instructions of Mr. Dodge must be re-written, and made to meet the new case. Cannot a treaty be made with Spain, whereby, on our side, we will guaranty to her the possession of Cuba, while, on her part, she shall agree not to liberate the slaves? But England and France, it may be said, will not permit Spain to enter into such a treaty.

"Spain will probably act with promptness, if at all, on this subject, and she will be pressed to action by the British Government. The whole scheme may be in full progress by the time of the regular meeting of the next Congress. The Free-Soil-Know-Nothing-Whig majority of the House will not be likely either to sanction a declaration of war on account of this aggression, or to grant means for preventing it. But the Executive Government will probably assume, as President Polk did in regard to Mexico, that war exists, when measures so hostile to the United States shall be actually adopted and enforced.

"The navy is not in a very good condition to meet the British, French, and Spanish fleets, which even now protect the coasts of Cuba. If the late Congress would not provide for an addition of seven steam sloops of war, surely the next cannot be expected to do it. The six steam frigates are not to be in readiness for a year or more. The process of Africanization will, of course, be carried on under the bayonets of twenty thousand Spanish troops, to say nothing of the guns of the British and French fleets. It will therefore require a considerable effort, on the part of the United States, to seize upon the island in time to prevent the impending danger."

The *National Intelligencer*, apparently troubled by these truculent remarks, begged *Ion* to reconsider the matter—he was too hasty—the policy of abolition had not been resolved on—all Spain meant was to put an end to the slave trade—of course this was no *casus belli*. We should like the *Intelligencer* to say, whether, admitting it to be a fact, that Spain intends to abolish Slavery in Cuba, it would justify this Administration in declaring war against her for that reason? *Ion*, however, consented to be pacified, as the dreadful intelligence was soon discredited.

There is something so ridiculous in all this, that we can hardly treat it seriously. If Spain conclude to abolish Slavery in Cuba, it is none of our business. England and France did it in their colonies, right on our coast, and we never whimpered. What is the reason Spain cannot do the same now? Is it because we think we are strong enough to whip *her?* How magnanimous!

Some years since, the question of Emancipation was up in Kentucky, lying amidst Slaveholding States, and a powerful movement was made to put an end to the curse. Did the South call upon the Federal Government to interfere, to remonstrate, to send a detachment of United States troops to put down the movement? Did it get up any filibustering on the occasion? South Carolina to-day might abolish Slavery within its borders, if it saw proper, without molestation from its sister States; and yet we must go to war to whip Spain for abolishing it within her own, sole jurisdiction. What a consistent people we are!

France and England stand at the back of Spain, it is said. If she venture on Emancipation, they will sustain her. Spain has twenty thousand troops on the island, and a navy about as respectable as ours. England and France could detach enough vessels on the instant, to surround the island. We have scarcely enough to protect our commerce, floating on every sea; and no fortifications that would secure our Northern cities from bombardment, and our Southern coast with its negro plantations from desolating ravages. Emancipation declared in Cuba; half a million of sinewy slaves, burning with the new fire of freedom; a well-disciplined army in the island; the combined fleets of England, France, and Spain, guarding its coast; our own coast defenceless, our own immense commerce unprotected—what a mighty show we should make in the endeavor to whip Spain and take Cuba! O, most reasonable People!

We, too, are the last day Missionaries of the Gospel of Freedom. Our new Evangel, glowing with the light and love of Liberty, was issued in 1776. Since then, we have been at pains to convince mankind that we are their instructer in the doctrine of human rights, their model in the art of self-government, besides giving them repeated lessons on the orthodox policy of "mind your own business," "absolute Non-Intervention by one Sovereign Power in the domestic affairs of another."

Of course, they must be filled with admiration at the notable practical illustration we are called upon by the Slaveholders to furnish of our professions, by going to war, to prevent the Sovereign Power of Spain from managing its own concerns in its own way, and to stop the spread of Freedom and Free Labor to Cuba. Preaching Liberty, but fighting for Slavery, standing forth as the shameless champions of foul Oppression wherever it grinds its victims, would not all nations rise up and call us blessed?

It is time that these Slavery Propagandists were taught that they are neither the People, nor of the People. Spain may abolish Slavery whenever it may suit her, and there is no Administration in this country that will dare to interfere by force. There may be bullying, mean, sneaking, dastardly intrigue, enough of it to ruin our national reputation, but nothing more, unless, indeed, we should have literal madmen for our rulers. Spain must not be misled as to the state of sentiment in this country. The voluntary Emancipation of the slaves of Cuba would send a thrill of joy throughout the great heart of the North and West, and myriads in the South would hail such an event with pleasure. It is within the compass of possibilities, that the fifteen free States, with their seventeen millions of free People, that have lately overwhelmed with utter defeat the Administration, on account of its devotion to an odious pro-slavery measure, would for an instant tolerate any design it might harbor of war on Spain for the perpetuation of Slavery? Let it test them, if it dare.

THE FOREIGN NEWS AND THE PRO-RUSSIAN PRESS.

In another column the reader will find the principal details of the news brought by the steamer Baltic, which arrived at New York last Friday, from Liverpool, on the 24th ult. It may be summed up briefly, as follows:

The Peace Conference is proceeding industriously with its labors, the first of the four points, certainly, and the second, probably, having been agreed to; the conduct of Prussia has been openly censured in Parliament, by Lord Clarendon: the Czar maintains, as might be expected, a firm front; but there is nothing in his manifestoes indicating an unwillingness to make peace: no decisive blow has been struck in the Crimea; the Allies are still pouring in reinforcements: the French, on the 22d February, in storming a redoubt, newly erected by the Russians, inflicted and sustained severe injury, and finally retreated.

The pro-Russian press of this country, of course, reports everything as unfavorable to the Allies. The burden of its editorials is—nothing yet done at the Peace Conference—warlike policy of the Czar—madness of Louis Napoleon—division in the counsels of the Allies—defeat of the French before Sebastopol, &c. The People would do well, if, after reading such editorials, they would carefully examine for themselves the detailed accounts, taking nothing on trust.

As to the Czar, in his manifestoes, he piously pledges himself to maintain the honor of Russia, and its traditional policy—but what less could he say? Was it expected that he would disclaim the acts of his predecessor, and become a suppliant for peace? Thus far he has said and done nothing which can interpose any new obstacle in the way of peace.

In regard to the attack made by the French on the Russian fortifications, our well-informed correspondent at Berlin has furnished us the following information:

"The fortifications in question seem to have been very strong, and were defended by Major General Chrujschtschew, who had under his command the Selenginsk regiment No. 21, and the Wolhynian regiment No. 28, and a great number of Cossacks. The attack on the part of the French was conducted by Generals Monet and Maynom, heading about 1,800 African chasseurs, marines, and Zouaves. The chief part of the contest took place after the moon had set, and in the darkness of the night, and was maintained on both sides with incredible obstinacy. The Russians appear, according to their own account, to have been previously informed of the surprise that was intended, and had unquestionably the advantage of superiority in number, as well as of position; still, in spite of a most vigorous resistance, they were at last compelled to yield to the impetuosity of the attacking party, and were forced to withdraw to the Malakoff tower, occupying the most elevated point of the position, which they successfully defended against the repeated desperate attempts of the assailants. The French succeeded, however, as far as to dismantle the outworks, and to spike the eighteen guns with which they were mounted. On their return to their entrenchment, they suffered much from the fire directed upon them from the Russian war-steamers, the Wlademir, the Chersones, and the Gromonosch. The loss on their part was, according to the French report, 350; but according to the Russian, 600 killed and wounded. The Russians lost 1,000 men, if the French are to be credited; but only 231, according to the report of Osten-Sacken, who bears ample testimony to the desperate valor with which the attack was made and maintained; while the French accounts speak in very high terms of the prowess displayed by the Russians. It is stated by General Osten-Sacken, in his report, that several French officers, armed with revolvers, were killed by the means of the *arkan*, (a noose similar to the Mexican lasso,) with which many of the Russian volunteers had armed themselves. The French General, Monet, received five wounds, but none of them dangerous.

PAUL PRY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

We call attention to an article on our fourth page, describing the doings of Paul Pry in a Catholic Boarding School for Ladies. The gentlemen engaged in the affair have won glory enough to last a lifetime. They should be suffered to go home now, and repose on their laurels. Their conduct provokes universal contempt and reprobation.

European papers tell us that the Pope has sent an embassy of condolence to the Emperor Alexander, on the loss of his father, probably, and not on his own accession to the Empire.

CUBAN AFFAIRS—POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The article on the fourth page of the *Era*, containing the explanation made in the early part of March to the Cabinet and Cortes at Madrid, concerning the projected conspiracy in Cuba, has excited profound interest. It would seem, from the statements of the Prime Minister, Luzuriaga, that the plot was more formidable than any preceding one; that *it received its first impulse from the United States*, and was sustained by an *extensive organization among us*; that the first blow was to be struck the moment the result of Mr. Soule's mission should be known; that the conspiracy was to be aided by *a filibustering expedition, with four steamers, and bands of adventurers from the United States, under the command of General Quitman, assisted by Henderson and Kinney, the Government and People of this country meanwhile being deceived by representations that it was intended for the colonization of Central America; and, finally, that all the conspirators arrested were acknowledged partisans of the maintenance of Slavery.*

In connection with the disclosure of the last-named fact, the correspondents of the French journals state that M. Luzuriaga took occasion to declare that the policy of the Government now is, to put an end to the system of Slavery, and they congratulate the Spanish Cabinet on this bold step, so much in harmony with the spirit of the age. The Madrid correspondents of the London journals confine the declaration of the Minister to the rigid suppression of the slave trade, so that the position of the Spanish Government on the subject is yet in doubt. The *National Intelligencer* could not believe the report in the French journals; it seemed to be shocked at the bare idea of Emancipation in Cuba, not on its own account, but, probably, from an apprehension of the terrible effect it might have in arousing the indignation of the South. There are some editors who cannot get over the notion that the wrath of the slaveholders is a very fearful thing. It was but too happy, a day or two after the reception of the first reports, to republish an article from *La Cronica*, a Spanish journal, printed at New York, containing what purports to be a correct version of the remarks of M. Luzuriaga. The following extract is all that relates to Slavery:

"The principle we have to guard against, Senors, is that spirit which has sprung up in a few turbulent individuals, of annexation to a neighboring State. But, sirs, this would not be dangerous in its tendency, were it not associated with another idea. Along with the idea of annexation, that of its being the means of securing the continuance of Slavery in the island is always present. This is not lost sight of, nor is it forgotten that the landed estates, and their cultivation, which form the sole, the great wealth of that island, depend upon Slavery, and that, consequently, when this principle is endangered, the holders of property must be alarmed.

"Sirs, where Slavery is discussed, sentiments of philanthropy, and other considerations inseparable from the subject, are excited. But it is necessary to bear in mind one thing; and that is, that the Island of Cuba *can never cease to be an integral part of the Spanish territory but by one of two modes*: either by emancipation, which would be the complete extermination of the white race—that is, of all the Spanish, and natives of the island who derive their origin from Europe—*or by annexation*, and by that, those who hold Slavery most in abhorrence would not succeed in securing its extinction. Her Majesty's Government, sirs, is resolved, therefore, to maintain those treaties which prohibit the trade in negroes, and to execute them with good faith and sincerity, with an assurance that they not only are, but will continue to be, enacted rigorously and faithfully. But, at the same time, sirs, her Majesty's Government entertains the most thorough conviction that Slavery is a necessity, and a condition indispensable to the maintenance of the landed property in the Island of Cuba, and it has been willing to anticipate the feelings of the Deputies, by giving to those nations and the property-holders of the island the assurance that it has not entered into the mind of anybody to touch this principle."

The New York *Tribune* suggests that the Spanish and London Journals, aware of the state of feeling in this country, may have been led to present this version of the Minister's remarks, so that the Spanish Government might the more easily carry out quietly its real policy of Emancipation; but the suggestion is hardly credible. Spain, by Treaty stipulations with Great Britain, is bound to suppress the slave trade, and to enforce the liberation of Africans imported into the island in violation of those stipulations. The number of these is so large, that their liberation must greatly reduce the slave population, weaken the power of the Slave Interest, and prepare the way for Emancipation. Now, the presumption is, that the Spanish Ministry, shrinking from any decisive movement, or even declaration, calculated to alarm and alienate the property-holders of Cuba, is nevertheless seriously resolved on the suppression of the slave-trade, and on the enfranchisement of the *Emancipados, with an ultimate view to the extinction of Slavery*, entertained, but not avowed. This, it seems to us, is the real position of the Cabinet at Madrid, and it is doubtless understood by *the partisans of Slavery in the island.* They see causes at work, looking towards the abolition of Slavery; they are distrustful of the secret intentions of the Home Government; they know that Emancipation is the settled policy of European Nations; that Spain stands among them, the prominent exception; that her close allies, England and France, are continually urging her to adopt the Principle they have themselves carried out in their colonies; and they know not what moment the decisive step may be taken. This is at the bottom of their anxiety for annexation to this country. In some of their publications, that have come under our notice, these considerations have been urged, as conclusive reasons in favor of the measure, and the American Union is pointed to as the last, impregnable bulwark of Slavery. Need we be surprised at the statement of Luzuriaga, that "*all the conspirators arrested were the acknowledged partisans of the maintenance of Slavery?*" or the fact, notorious to the world, that the partisans of Slavery in this country are the controlling spirits of all our Filibustering Expeditions? Men do not like to acknowledge to mankind, or to their own hearts, that they are actuated by selfish motives, by reasons which the Civilization of their age condemns. Hence, the leading conspirators in Cuba, and their sympathizers in this country, talk of the despotism and cruelty of the Spanish rule, of the sufferings inflicted upon the Creoles, of the right of resistance to Tyrants. We believe in the right of resisting and punishing Tyrants; in the right of Revolution; in the right of any oppressed People, no matter where they may live, or who may be their oppressors, to rise in their might, and assume their God-given liberties; but, when the right is asserted and exercised, for the purpose, not so much of securing justice and liberty for themselves, as the privilege of perpetuating a system of outrageous injustice and oppression upon another People, their struggle deserves and should receive no sympathy or countenance whatsoever. A war for Slavery, no matter what guise of pretext may be thrown over it, merits the execration of mankind.

Spain is behind the age in her policy, both at home and abroad. Her rule in Cuba is despotic, oppressive, and selfish. Common sense, if nothing else, should induce her to relax its rigor, to change its very principle, and allow the People of Cuba at least a measure of self-government. If she stubbornly refuse this much, whatever may become of the island, she would have no right to complain were it lost to her forever.

The recommendation of General Concha, to make important concessions to the colony, a recommendation which seemed to be cordially responded to by the Spanish Ministry and Cortes, awakens the hope that a better day is dawning. Let the new policy he wisely carried out, let the Government cease to oppress, let it honorably and vigorously fulfil all its obligations in regard to the slave-trade and the Emancipados, resolving at least upon the Principle of Emancipation, and Cuba will be saved alike from the horror of civil war and the curse of filibustering.

SLAVE CASES IN CINCINNATI.

From our Cincinnati correspondence and an article from the Cincinnati *Gazette*, published on the fourth page of the *Era*, the reader will learn additional particulars concerning the recent slave cases in that city. It is somewhat remarkable that clergymen should have figured so largely in the proceedings, the claimants in all the cases being professed ministers of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captive, the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound. Such creatures bring dishonor upon their profession, and the sacred cause to which it is dedicated.

The letter of our correspondent places the conduct of Judge Storer in a most unenviable light. But what else could be expected from a man who, with some amiable qualities, has no decision of character, scarcely any moral courage?

The United States Marshal, it seems, was attached for contempt of Court, not in re-arresting the girl Rosetta, after she had been adjudged free by Judge Parker, but in refusing to produce the girl, after this re-arrest, in obedience to a second writ of habeas corpus issued by the State Court. For this offence, the Judge fined him fifty dollars, and committed him to prison. A writ of habeas corpus was then granted by Judge McLean, of the United States Supreme Court, on which the Marshal was brought before him on the 3d. The case was argued for the Sheriff, who committed him, by Messrs. Chase, Walker, and Jolliffe, and by Senator Pugh for the Marshal. The next day, the Judge discharged the prisoner, pronouncing his imprisonment illegal.

We rejoice that Judge Parker so ably and firmly maintained the independence and dignity of the Court. His decision on discharging the girl is spoken of by our correspondent as admirable; it contained the following important points:

"1. That whenever a writ of habeas corpus was applied for by the proper affidavit, it was the duty of the Court, and as to which it had no discretion, to allow the writ, and to inquire into the cause of the capture and detention.

"2. That where it appears, by the return to the writ, that the person was held under process of law regularly and properly issued, charging a person with any offence of which it had jurisdiction, it would not go beyond the writ, but would remand the person to such legal custody.

"3. That upon writ of habeas corpus, issued by the Courts of the State, the Court might and would look into the legality of the detention of persons held under process of a United States Court, and, if such detention were found to be illegal, would grant a discharge therefrom.

"4. That to authorize the issuing of a warrant for the arrest of a fugitive, under the Fugitive Slave Act, it was necessary that it should be shown by affidavit, and that the warrant should show that the party claimed was held to service and labor in a State where Slavery was recognised, and that, while so held to service and labor, had escaped out of such State.

"5. The warrant in the present case only recited that the party claimed had escaped from the claimant, and that she owed service to him in the State of Kentucky. It did not show, that while held in a state of slavery, in a State permitting the same, she had escaped therefrom. The warrant was therefore fatally defective and void, and for such insufficiency alone the girl was entitled to her discharge.

"6. That, even if the warrant were regular, she was entitled to discharge upon the facts before the Court. The Court distinctly and broadly affirmed the doctrine, as an immutable principle of law in Ohio, that whenever a slave, by the consent of the master, set his foot upon the soil of Ohio, he was a free man, equal in all respects to his master, 'and no power on earth was strong enough to take him back.'

"7. That it made no difference that the bringing was by the agent of the master. The master, in this respect, as in other cases of agency, was bound by the act of his agent.

"8. That under the Constitution of Ohio the alleged right of transit with slave property through the State did not exist. Slavery could have no existence beyond the territory where established by law, which law could not be carried beyond the territory of its enactment. This rule did not interfere with the Fugitive Act, for that contemplated an escape, and not the consent of the master."

In the proceedings before the Commissioner—and these Commissioners are petty officers, the mere creatures of the United States Judges—that gentleman loftily remarked that he would not recognise the acts of the State Courts, but he appreciated the importance of the case, and would take time for consideration. On the 3d instant he delivered his decision, discharging Rosetta as free, on the ground that she had been conveyed into Ohio with the consent of her master, and was not therefore a fugitive from Slavery.

But suppose his decision had been precisely the reverse—what then? According to the Black Act theory, he is irresponsible, and his decision is final. Congress has attempted to confer on him the high prerogative of pronouncing finally upon the right to liberty of every inhabitant of a State whose right shall be challenged—and if the infamous Fugitive Slave Act is to be regarded as *law*, there is no power in any Court of Common Pleas, or in the Supreme Court of the State, to break the force of this decision, and save its victim.

Most emphatically, then, do we congratulate the People of Ohio as having a Judge who, scorning to submit to Federal usurpation, has dared to maintain the independence of the State Judiciary. The third point of his decision we hope to see maintained in every State, at the cost of whatever conflict with the Federal authorities.

"Upon writ of habeas corpus, issued by the Courts of a State, the Court might and would look into the legality of the detention of persons held under process of a United States Court, and, if such detention were found to be illegal, would grant a discharge therefrom."

This principle cannot be abandoned, without a sacrifice of State Sovereignty; without an abdication by the State of its highest prerogative, that of protecting its citizens; without exposing it defenceless to the encroachments of Federal Power. Should its maintenance lead to a conflict between the State and Federal authorities—and, beyond all doubt, there is a plain contradiction between it and the claim of the Federal Judiciary—as the States are original, the States are more essential than the Federal Government to the preservation of Liberty, if one of the parties must give way, let it be the Federal Power.

To avoid this conflict, always dangerous, the true course is to repeal the Fugitive Slave Act, the chief source of all the mischief—an Act, without warrant in the Federal Constitution, repugnant to the Common Law, and utterly inconsistent with the proper maintenance of State Sovereignty.

FOREIGNERS—TWO VIEWS.

Always Anti-Slavery in sentiment, and for the past fourteen years a Temperance man, having been active in both of these reforms, I have always met the foreigners, save a few English, and here and there an old Scotch Presbyterian, as the allies of the slaveholder and rum-dealer. I know, what Gamaliel Bailey well knows, that the very moment this class of people took up their abode in Hamilton county, they were taken into care and harangued by Piatt and other demagogues; and when, in a year or two, they forced their way to the polls, with their "papers" not folded, obtained by perjury, every vote was cast for the Locofocos, and with a large share of profanity against the Abolitionists. I also know that when, in the year 1841, Dr. Bailey's press was thrown into the Ohio river, a good share of the actors were *foreigners.* I saw the commencement of the gathering at the Lower Market; I saw the mob, when attacking the negro dwellings; I mingled in the crowd the next day, when the military guarded the colored people to the jail yard, for their safety, and I know that a large share of the mob were foreigners. I also know that when, on the second evening, Dr. Bailey's office was attacked, the sheriff was requested to bring the "Harrison Grays" for its protection; but he placed them at the jail, and ordered a German company to clear the mob from the office. They marched into the alley; the mob, a portion of which were foreigners, were commanded to desist; they did not. The commander was ordered to fire into them; he uttered some kind of gibberish, and the company fired upwards, stepped a few paces back, and took a complacent look at the crowd, as they dragged the press out, and started for the river. And when, a few minutes after, Mr. Burnet's confectionery store was broken open and robbed, the foreigners were as busy as any in making waste with his property—and that, too, because he was an Abolitionist. Thus much for their regard for Right, Justice, *Freedom, Right of Speech, the Freedom of the Press.*

This has been my experience of them from that time until they made a "body guard" for Judge Douglas, to aid him in conquering the prejudices of the people of Chicago; until the last vote was polled, in November last, for "Nebraska and Whisky;" until the present moment, when they are yet the allies of the slaveholding demagogues, and the unfeeling, hard-hearted rum-dealers.

They have no sympathy with us as a republican people; they have no regard for our institutions; they have been so reared and taught, that their feelings are at war with ours. You heard of our troubles with the Mormons. Jo. Smith could not have governed that number of people as he did, if they had not been foreigners. Our duty, I hold, then, is to guard our own rights.

I have been a laborer in the Temperance reform for the last fourteen years. I believe the principles thereof, which are now about to triumph in prohibition throughout the length and breadth of our land, to be truly Republican; and, as I have heretofore said, I have always found the foreigners, save here and there an individual exception, ignorant, bigoted, and unyielding enemies; and but for this class of people, a prohibitory law would scarcely be required.

They have no regard for our laws; they defy the moral sentiment of the community; they take a delight in following that business which makes, if possible, their victims more reckless than themselves.

In addition to my own experience in this matter, I wish to quote the convictions of Horace Greeley on this branch of the question, which I suppose will not be considered at this time partial on my side:

"The Catholics, who number less than one sixth of our population, keep two thirds of the grogshops where grogshops are tolerated, and sell most of the liquor in stealthy violation of law where selling is legally interdicted. While the foreign-born population of our country is scarcely a sixth of the whole number, it appears that a large majority of the crimes against life—at least in the free States—are committed by this fraction, and most of the culprits evince by their choice of spiritual advisers that they are Catholics."

These are facts which stare every observing man in the face; and I will not now consume time or paper in quoting statistics to prove them to be the facts in the case, our land over. We are sorry, truly ashamed, that our young and flourishing city, Chicago, has become cursed, beyond any city of her age in this Union, with lewdness, drunkenness, debauchery, and crime. And why? A census lately taken developes the fact that there are six hundred and seventy-five dramshops in said city; that, of that number, three hundred and eleven are kept by Germans, and the remaining half are found to be mostly Irish. And why are these nurseries of crime, these houses of ill fame, these gambling hells, so numerous? Where does the secret lie? The municipal Government has been in the hands of foreigners for the last two or three years.

But, in civil as in social affairs, a point arrives, beyond which endurance ceases to be a virtue; and I learn that the American Party have taken it into their own hands. I am not disposed to interfere with the rights of any man, but I want to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks; and I will not, therefore, aid to place any man in office who is in favor of said traffic. I am opposed to Slavery, and, with others in this Western land, have resolved that I will aid in placing the National Government under the control of those who will absolve said Government from all support of Slavery; therefore, I am opposed to any slaveholder having office in the Government. And I am just so foolhardy as to think that any Temperance man or friend of Freedom who thinks to obtain his object by placing foreigners in office, is simply green. My views upon this question are not the result of the present excitement; they were long years ago formed, the result of convictions produced, as I have said, by observation; and when the Hon. L. C. Levin agitated this question, many years since, I recollect I was of the opinion that he was right; and having been educated in the midst of Anti-Slavery, by Anti-Slavery people, I have never been able to discover any wrong in my views on this subject. I may yet be convinced of an error, but I opine it will have to be by those who know more of the workings of "Americans" than those who have thus far written for the *Era*. H. S. Thomas.

Vermont, Ill., March 14, 1855.

The heated prejudices of Mr. Thomas, we apprehend, will greatly impair his reform efforts. He who would prevail upon men to abandon their vices, must first learn to do justice to their virtues. The denunciation of foreigners by Mr. T., is indiscriminate and unjust. He refers to me for the confirmation of certain statements about mobbing in Cincinnati. I cannot confirm them. The lawless men who in 1836 destroyed clandestinely at midnight the *Philanthropist* press, were native-born Americans. The market-house meeting, which met subsequently, to put down the press, which we had again started, was composed of native-born Americans. President, Vice Presidents, Secretary, and the members of the Committee it appointed to wait on us and warn us out of town, were native-born Americans, all "gentlemen of property and standing." The mob that under its auspices destroyed our office, and dragged the press down Main street to the river, was composed of native-born Americans, and its ringleaders, subsequently tried, convicted, and punished, all belonged to "Young America." The protracted and bitter opposition and proscription we struggled against in Cincinnati, were from native-born Americans, not from foreigners, for they took no interest in the question of Slavery, *pro* or *con.* The mob in 1840 originated in a quarrel between some colored men and native-born American boatmen; we know, for we were present, that the mob was made up chiefly of Kentucky and Ohio boatmen, and the refuse native-born population that haunts large cities; that it demolished our office, and dragged our two presses down Main street to the river, in the face of the mayor and sheriff, both native-born Americans, in the face of the military, nearly the whole of which were native-born Americans. And as to the mob that in 1843 besieged the house of Cornelius Burnet, an Englishman, it was instigated by a Louisiana slaveholder, an original importation from the North, and its staple was furnished by the butcher boys, and particularly native American population about town. In other riots in Cincinnati, the "foreigners" have borne their full share; but in the Pro-Slavery mobs from 1836 to 1843, they had very little to do. The fault we always found with them was, that they took so little interest in the Slavery Question, they would never suffer it to interfere in the slightest degree with their devotion to party. But how many native-born Americans have they had to sympathize with them in their policy!

We protest against the wholesale denunciation of races or classes of men. The homely adage, "Let every tub stand on its own bottom," is a just one. Accept every man for what he is within himself. *Character*, not position, not race, not creed, should be the test. A black rascal is no worse than a white one; a foreign demagogue is no more abhorrent than a native one. When men do well, commend them; when they do evil, condemn them, without reference to the class or race to which they belong.—*Ed. Era.*

"RUMORS OF WAR," &c.

The Washington *Union* breathes war every day. If it represent the Administration fairly, it is bent on blood and slaughter. The *Star* some time since scouted its pretensions as an "organ," and apparently with some reason. The *Union* talked *war* in the Black Warrior case—and it is settled peacefully. On the Nebraska question, at first, it worked one way, and the Administration, another. It supported the Spoliation Bill, and the President vetoed it. It favored the Kinney Expedition, and Secretary Marcy put a veto on it. It now goes for war against Spain—possibly the Administration may be less truculent. Still, there are rumors afloat about activity in our navy yards, secret orders, war vessels despatched to Cuba, &c., &c. Estrampes, a Cuban, who became naturalized in this country, went back to Cuba as a conspirator, was tried by a military tribunal, found guilty, sentenced, and executed, is to be avenged, so it is reported. Would the Administration avenge John Mitchel, should he go back to Ireland, be detected in getting up a rebellion, and be hung by Britain as a rebel? Why does it not make war upon France, to compel it to release from the conscription, Frenchmen who, after naturalization in this country, have returned to their own? In Mr. Marcy's letter about Martin Koszta, he took no ground which would authorize him to call Spain to account for executing Estrampes. But, it is said, the Administration arraigns her for the manner in which his trial was conducted, in violation of Treaty stipulations. Time may show what the President and his advisers are about. It cannot be concealed that it is in their power, at any moment, to bring on a hostile collision with Spain, and place the country in a position where Congress might be constrained, as in the case of Mexico, to recognise a war forced upon it. There is no safety with such an Administration as this.

MISSOURI REGULATING THE INSTITUTIONS OF KANSAS.

A despatch from Independence, Missouri, dated April 1st, announces the election of the Pro-Slavery ticket in Kansas, by majorities ranging from 200 to 800—that probably not an Anti-Slavery man is chosen to the Legislature—and that the election was conducted in a quiet manner. It adds, that "the editor of the Kansas *Free State* was ducked in Kew river by a mob, in consequence of a speech made by him." We suppose this is a pretty fair illustration of the "*quiet* manner" in which the election was conducted!

The despatch evidently comes from one who sympathizes with the Pro-Slavery party, and must be taken with some allowance. We shall not be surprised, however, if subsequent accounts confirm its general tenor.

In the election of a Delegate to Congress, the country learned how the Pro-Slavery party triumphed. The Slavery-propagandists of Missouri, marshalled by Senator Atchison, took possession of the polls, and the result was, the votes cast exceeded in number the *bona fide* settlers in the Territory. It was not to be expected that they would leave the work half done. The more important business of choosing a Legislature, that would make provision for the protection of what is called slave-property, required still more energetic action, and the same measures that had proved so successful in the former case were again put in requisition. The St. Louis *Republican* announced that "Kansas must be a slave State." Public meetings of slaveholders were called all along the border line, and means raised for the purpose of carrying voters into the Territory. The People of Missouri were inflamed by lying reports that Governor Reeder was acting in collusion with the Yankee emigrants. The busy Mr. Stringfellow and others went about making speeches, demonstrating "the necessitiy of immediate action on the part of the citizens of Missouri *to protect Kansas until sufficient time for emigrants from the whole South to arrive there.*" The following advertisement, in the *Western* (Mo.) *Argus*, shows how carefully facilities were prepared for these citizens of Missouri, and to whom was assigned the task of protecting Kansas—in other words, of voting for pro-slavery legislators.

"*Election in Kansas—The Ferry that Never Stops.*—A report having got out that one of our boats had been carried off by the ice, we take the liberty of contradicting it. Ours is the only ferry that never stops. We keep two good boats, and when one can't run, the other can. All who wish to be in Kansas in time to vote, go to Iatan, and you will not be disappointed, for old Nim is always ready. NIMROD FARLEY,
J. M. G. BROWN."

The election was held the 30th of March. On the 23d, the following despatch was sent from Lexington, Mo., to the St. Louis *Republican*:

"*Election in Kansas.—Lexington, March 23.*—Thousands of actual settlers have gone from Missouri to Kansas. Hundreds from Cooper, Randolph, Howard, and Saline, are passing here daily."

"Actual settlers!" Of *course*.

Just before the election, the Kansas *Herald of Freedom* stated "that there are full a hundred Missourians encamped in tents and wagons on the Wakarusa, in that election district, waiting an opportunity to cast their votes at the coming election, with the view of securing the Legislature to the Pro-Slavery interest. The same pains are being taken, the *Herald* says, to supply voters enough in each election precinct to carry every district against the advocates of Freedom."

That the Pro-Slavery party should, under such circumstances, carry the day, is not at all surprising. It is not Kansas that determines for itself its own institutions—it is Missouri that determines and regulates everything.

But, let not the struggle be abandoned. What is lost, may be recovered. Fraud and violence cannot always prevail. Let the friends of Freedom redouble their exertions, and pour reinforcements, without stint, into the Territory, until it shall become strong enough to maintain its independence of Missouri; and let them see well that the Representatives whom they have chosen to the next Congress be distinctly committed against the admission of Kansas as a slave State.

That is not all. Carry the war into Africa. While Missouri is trying to propagate Slavery in Kansas, propagate Freedom in Missouri. Let the Emigrant Aid Society extend its operations, so as to buy out the nomadic tribes in that great State, and settle their lands with wealth-producing colonists, who in due time may gather strength enough to convert Missouri into a free State.

Since the foregoing was written, the following despatch has appeared. It tells the story—it tells who the "actual settlers" were:

[From the St. Louis Republican's Telegraphic Despatch.]

"*Independence, March 31, 9 P. M.*—Several hundred returning emigrants from Kansas have just entered our city. They were preceded by the Westport and Independence Brass Bands. They came in at the west side of the public square, and proceeded entirely around it, the bands cheering us with fine music, and the emigrants with good news. Immediately following the bands were about two hundred horsemen, in regular order; following these were one hundred and fifty wagons, carriages, &c. They gave repeated cheers for Kansas and Missouri. They report that not an Anti-Slavery man will be in the Legislature of Kansas. We have made a clean sweep.

"*Kansas, March 31, 9 P. M.*—Pro-Slavery ticket triumphant, as far as heard from. Total vote: Lawrence 778 to 255, Tecumseh 266 to 34, Douglas 330 to 6, Doniphan 320 to 25, Shawnee Mission 40 to 16, Leavenworth 899 to 60, Hickory Point 233 to 6. Election passed off quietly, and with very little disturbance."

THE ELECTIONS.

The election in Connecticut has resulted in the defeat of the Administration. All the members of Congress, and a large majority of the Legislature, are Whigs and Know Nothings. As to their opinions on the Slavery Question, we know nothing. The Free Soil Party resolved to cast its vote for Governor Dutton, the Whig candidate, a Temperance and an Anti-Slavery man, but he seems to have been deserted by his own Party, as he received only about ten thousand votes. The contest, so far as we can see, was mainly between the Know Nothings and the Democrats, and the returns show that Ingham, the candidate of the latter, is a few hundred ahead of his Know Nothing competitor. If Liberty has gained anything by the contest, we should like some of our well-informed friends in Connecticut to show us wherein. We really seek information.

As to Rhode Island, the Know Nothings have elected a Whig Governor and a Whig Congressman in the Eastern District, and a Democratic Congressman in the Western—that is, men who formerly were so designated. Of course, they are Know Nothings now.

Here, we speak with more certainty. The Slavery Question was not the issue—and the Know Nothings cared so little about it, as to reject THOMAS DAVIS, the truest and ablest Anti-Slavery Representative we have ever known in Congress from that State. Shame upon the policy that sacrificed such a man, because he was born in Ireland!

In Portland, Maine, Neal Dow, the originator of the Maine Liquor Law, has been elected Mayor, by the combined forces of Anti-Slavery men, Temperance men, and Know Nothings. The main issue was, Temperance—and yet, in replying to congratulations tendered him after his election, he was guilty of the bad taste of appealing to a popular but low prejudice.

"No one," he proceeded to say, "reviewing the circumstances attending this canvass, could resist the conclusion that measures should be taken to restrain the right of suffrage, now exercised by our foreign population, and to prevent their overawing and controlling our elections, as they have done.

"He had been informed that not only had a large foreign vote been added to the list, but that paupers even had been accorded the right of suffrage, while Portland-born voters, who had ever resided here, had been excluded. The necessity of restraining the suffrages of the foreign population, he was sure, was becoming a general sentiment, not only in the North, but in the South as well."

The ballot-box, of course, should be protected against fraudulent voting—but native as well as naturalized citizens should be punished for corruption. It is also to be regretted that the latter, as is represented, should have voted against the Temperance ticket, but were they any more blameworthy than the former, who made up the majority of the Anti-Temperance Party? Besides, the foreign-born voters doubtless understood that Mr. Dow was a Know Nothing, and in favor of a policy calculated to degrade them. Was it exactly reasonable to expect them to vote for him? Would you expect Fred. Douglas to support a candidate for office pledged to disfranchise the much-abused class whom he nobly represents?

The result in Cincinnati, despite the violence attempted and committed, shows a Democratic victory. The *American Organ* here justifies the conduct of its Know Nothing brethren in destroying the ballot boxes, and says they would have done right, had they thrown the foreign "ruffians" into the river. It differs somewhat from the party in Cincinnati, which, since the disgraceful transaction alluded to, has held a public meeting, and condemned the conduct of its riotous members. Such an outrage is indeed unprecedented, and must tend to alienate from the Order the honest, fair-minded persons, who have been entangled by it.

VIRTUOUS INDIGNATION!

We have before us the *Jefferson* (Misssouri) *Inquirer* of the 31st of March, 1855, the day *after* the late elections in Kansas. It contains some items of interest in connection with the subject of these elections. One of these items relates to certain alleged traducers of one Major Rollins. It appears that the persons so denominated had, at a public meeting, as early as the 17th of March, gotten up for the purpose of "taking such measures as might be thought practicable, to induce emigrants to *hasten* to Kansas, and to *aid* any in doing so who might not be *prepared*, at once to go," "denounced and misrepresented the Hon. James S. Rollins, as having said that 'any person who would go to Kansas merely to vote on this question, ought to be hanged.'" Major Rollins comes forth himself also, in a card, and pronounces the statement "an unqualified lie!" We do not wonder at the wrath of this gentleman. It was a vile thing to lay to his account. But it is noticeable that nothing is said by the meeting, nor by Major Rollins, in condemnation of the interference alluded to. The editor of the *Inquirer*, to be sure, condems the practice just sufficiently to convince the incredulous of its existence. He says:

"We deprecate, however, the course of policy adopted by some citizens of Missouri, that were going over and recommending others to go over and vote in Kansas, no matter whether they intended to become citizens of the Territory or not." "We can never, as the conductor of a public journal, quietly sanction a wrong—an interference, on the part of citizens of Missouri, with the rights and privileges of the citizens of Kansas." "If the citizens of Missouri have a right to interfere with the elections in Kansas, because the result of such election might have an influence over the people of Missouri, then, upon the same principle, the citizens of Iowa or Illinois would have a right to come to this State, and interfere with our elections," &c.

We presume the citizens of the free States of this Union now know what "squatter sovereignty" means. Forty-five of their Representatives in the last Congress voted for it, as they affirmed, in voting for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

P. S.—The *Columbia* (Missouri) *Statesman* of March 30th contains a series of cards, more than a column in length, upon the heinous offence of the above accusation! It will be interesting to know what the next United States House of Representatives will say to an election conducted in this manner.

General News.

EUROPEAN NEWS.

The Collins mail steamship Baltic, Captain Comstock, arrived at New York on the 6th instant. She left Liverpool on Saturday the 24th ultimo. Our previous advices by the Asia were to the 17th ultimo.

The steamer St. Louis arrived out at Southampton at half past nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th March.

The Madrid *Gazette* contains a despatch from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Governor of Cuba, denouncing the recent conspiracy, and stating, for the satisfaction of land-owners in the island, that it is the firm intention of the Government and of the Cortes to protect the rights of property; and that they consider slavery as one of the most sacred of such rights. The Minister besides informs the Governor that military forces have been sent out, and that more are to follow. He also states that the Queen thanks him, the authorities, and the troops, for having exerted themselves in putting down the conspiracy.

The Spanish Cortes, on the 17th ultimo, approved of the proposition of M. Olozaga, relative to an elective Senate, and the Ministerial journal, the *Iberia*, repeats the rumor that the Minister of Finance has already realized a loan of 500,000,000 reals.

The first of the four points of guarantee, namely, that the Danubian Principalities be placed under the protectorate of the Five Powers, had been unanimously agreed to in the Congress of Vienna.

The second article or point refers to the free navigation of the mouths of the Danube, and will be doubtless got over satisfactorily.

Then comes the "sticking point." The third provides: That the treaty of July, 1841, shall be revised by agreement of the high contracting Powers, in an interest of European equilibrium, and in a sense of the limitation of the power of Russia in the Black Sea.

Some of the German journals assert most distinctly, that if the result of the Conference should not end in the restoration of peace, Austria will declare war against Russia, according to article five of the treaty of Dec. 2. The *Constitutionnel* affirms the same fact.

The Czar Alexander has made a speech to his army; but, on the whole, his language is interpreted pacifically.

The siege of Sebastopol is unchanged. Lord Raglan officially admits that the Russians are making the place stronger.

We are given to understand, by letters from Paris, that the preparations for the Emperor's departure to the Crimea are completed, but that his journey will be postponed until the rising of the Vienna Conference.

The navigation of the Great Belt was open. Kiel was partially open, and the ice was breaking up generally. A flying squadron—the first instalment of the English Baltic fleet—sailed from Spithead, March 20th, for Kiel. The squadron is under the command of Captain Watson, and comprises the ships Imperieuse, Euryalus, Arrogant, Esk, Tartar, Archer, and Conflict, in all 214 guns. Thousands of spectators witnessed their departure.

The *Moniteur* states that the Sultan has authorized the erection of Catholic chapels at Trebizond, Metelin, Messine, and Bergasi.

Martin Van Buren, jr., died at Paris, on Tuesday, 20th ult. A large number of Americans accompanied his remains to their temporary resting place, in the cemetery of Montmatre. The deceased had for a long time been wasting away under the blight of consumption, but his death was so sudden as to surprise even those friends who had despaired of his recovery. He had seated himself at the dinner table, when his head fell forward on his breast, and he expired without a word, without a groan. An eloquent and touching allocution was pronounced at the tomb, by the Protestant Pastor, Coquerel. The audience forgot all feelings of party or of sect, in sympathy for the bereaved father.

The Paris correspondent of the London *Chronicle*, writing on March 23d, says:

"The King of Naples has been pressed by Austria to give in his adhesion to the alliance, but King Bomba resolutely sticks to neutrality and the principles laid down by the United States as regards neutral vessels. It remains to be seen how far the Allied Powers will carry their toleration of the theory that 'the flag covers the cargo,' if the vessels of his Sicilian Majesty's subjects are found coasting the shores of the Black Sea."

Lord Erskine, eldest son of the celebrated Chancellor Erskine, died at Brighton on the 19th. He was minister plenipotentiary to Washington in 1806.

An autograph letter of George Washington was sold at auction, in London, for £5.

The London money market was easier, the stock of gold increasing.

Consols had declined, closing at 92⅞.

Next mail will probably bring us the news of the re-opening of the bombardment, and probably an assault. Yet the Russian defences are stronger than ever; but new batteries of mortars and heavy guns have been erected much nearer the walls, and great things are expected. It is to be seen whether Osten-Sacken, who acts under Gortschakoff, will conduct the defence as ably as Menschikoff. The recall of the latter looks very like a disgrace, as he is deprived of the Governor Generalship of Finland, and of his rank as Lord High Admiral.

The Roebuck Committee of Investigation holds its sittings daily. It will do good in providing against future abuses.

There is a report that Menschikoff is dead, but it requires confirmation.

The King of Denmark, who has been seriously ill, is recovering. The late Danish Ministry are to be impeached.

The Sardinian contingent is on the eve of departure for the Crimea.

Lord Redcliffe is reported to be seriously ill.

Baron Bruck is duly installed as Minister of France, at Vienna.

HAVANA.—Our readers have been apprized that Pinto, one of the Cuban conspirators, had been garroted on the 22d of March, and that he is said to have died heroically, refusing to betray the names of his associates, even to save his own life. He was fifty years of age, an accomplished gentleman, surrounded by friends, had a wife and six or seven children, and was worth two hundred thousand dollars.

On Saturday, March 31st, Estrampes, another of the party, was garroted in like manner, refusing to reveal the names of his confederates, and shouting for the downfall of kings and for liberty! Some seventy others have been ordered to Spain for trial. General Quitman and his band of American conspirators are presumed to be among the colleagues of these men, and the Washington *Union* is certainly a great abettor of this enterprise. How far the American filibusters hold themselves accountable for the ruin to which their Cuban associates are led, we know not. We have seen it stated, and presume it is correct, that Lopez regarded it as madness in his party to go to Cuba as they did, but preferred to sacrifice his life rather than let his frenzied American associates for a moment suppose his caution amounted to cowardice. Great excitement prevails at Havana, and the Captain General appears determined to prepare the island for defence from every quarter. Large bodies of men, negroes as well as whites, are enrolled and under instruction in the duties of soldiers.

FROM CALIFORNIA.—The steamship Illinois arrived at New York on the 8th of April, with California dates to the 16th of March, and $710,167 in gold. The mining news is encouraging, and large receipts of the precious metal from the interior are acknowledged in the San Francisco papers. In the California Legislature, bills to improve the morality of the State were making progress, and one to prevent barbarous and noisy amusements on the Sabbath only wanted the Governor's signature to become a law. The friends of temperance were zealous, and had hopes of carrying a prohibitory liquor law.

From Callao, we have the intelligence of the death of Admiral Fevrier des Pointe, the commander of the French squadron in the Pacific, who died on board the frigate "La Forte" the day before that vessel reached Callao. The funeral was conducted with great ceremony.

Australian dates to the 12th of January came to hand by way of Panama, and give the result of the at one time threatening rebellion amongst the miners. The official investigation into the matter showed that the leaders of the dissatisfied miners were merely political rowdies, who had themselves no wrongs to complain of or redress, while the charges brought against the Government officers were proved to be unfounded. The gold licences, however, were to be done away with, so that the demonstration, whatever its character, had produced the desired result, and, until some other grievance agitates the populace to violence, we may presume Australia will quietly submit to its colonial dependence.

From Chili, it is rumored that the United States Minister at that Government is about to return home, leaving the Secretary of Legation to fill his place.

Mrs. Daniel Webster, who was injured by a fall from her carriage, in New York, some days since, is still seriously ill.

The Putnam (Ohio) *Citizen*, of March 28th, says that the Hon. Horace Mann, President of Antioch College, has recently become a communicant and preacher in the "Christain Church," and remarks that he is an able pulpit orator, and draws large congregations to hear his discourses, and that the institution of which he is President is in a flourishing condition.

The wife of Mr. Cass, our Minister at Rome, died suddenly in that city on the 3d of March. The wife of Mr. Schroeder, our Minister at Stockholm, died recently in that city. She was a daughter of Col. Seaton, of the *National Intelligencer.*

Connecticut has elected to Congress all four Fusion candidates.

The bold, vigorous, and efficient, effort made by Mayor Wood, of the city of New York, to suppress immorality in that city, entitles him to praise and encouragement from every person in the whole country; yet the *Journal of Commerce* declares, and its statements are corroborated by other New York papers, that a purse of twenty thousand dollars has been raised by the policy dealers, gamblers, and keepers of liquor shops, and houses of bad repute, in that city, for the purpose of procuring the passage of such laws at Albany as will drive the present Mayor from office, or at least fetter his power to promote the public good by destroying their nefarious traffic.

It is so difficult to obtain seamen for the United States naval service, that a bounty of from fifteen to twenty dollars is offered to those who enlist for three years' service.

An effort is in progress in the New York Legislature either to abandon the practice of imprisoning witnesses to await a trial, or else to cause them to be comfortably entertained and compensated for ther time. At present, all witnesses in important criminal cases, who cannot give ample security for their appearance—poor persons and strangers—are imprisoned in the same prison apartments with the criminals themselves!

The Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, recently took unanimous and decided action against Anti-Slavery resolutions sent in by the Conferences of Ohio and Wisconsin, first voting that the resolutions should not be allowed the courtesy of a reading, and then voting unanimously to non-concur in them. The rejected resolutions prohibit the buying of men, women, and children, with the intention to enslave them, and require the emancipation of slaves, when it can be accomplished without injury to them. John Wesley would have voted for these resolutions!

It is understood that the importers of wines and spirits, and the dealers in these commodities, are to meet in New York, "not to petition the Legislature in relation to the temperance law, but to consult together in relation to the manner in which it will affect their constitutional rights, and to agree upon the proper mode of redress."

A DISASTER OR A CRIME UPON THE OCEAN.—The new ship James Cheston, from Baltimore for Liverpool, which, with her cargo, was worth $300,000, was fallen in with, abandoned at sea, by the British ship Marathon, on the 28th of February, having all the appearances of having been pilfered by pirates, auger holes being bored in her sides, but she otherwise sound and in good order. The mate and six seamen of the Marathon took her into Liverpool, on the 16th of March, with perfect ease, where they have entered a claim for £25,000, or $125,000, salvage. Captain White, his two mates, and six of the crew, of the James Cheston, have arrived at Wilmington, North Carolina, and seven others at Savannah, Georgia, making sixteen in all. They represent the ship as having sprung a leak when two days out from the Capes at the at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, and as being leaky and in a sinking condition. The case looks badly for them. The ship and cargo were heavily insured. They belonged to James Cheston & Son, and Hugh Jenkins & Co., Baltimore.

Political News.

THE ELECTIONS.

Cincinnati.—An election was held in this city on Monday, 2d of April, for Mayor, Magistrates, &c. The issue and the result have both been somewhat beclouded, but a majority against Know Nothingism finally appeared. In October last, the Know Nothing majority was more than four thousand.

There was a great riot connected with this election, the particulars of which will be found on our fourth page. The City Clerk, on the 6th, issued certificates of election to all the Democratic candidates—the Judges of the Eleventh and Twelfth Wards, where the violence was done, having made returns under oath.

As late as the 6th, there was still some disorder in the city. Faran was the Democratic and Taylor the Know Nothing candidate for Mayor. The majority of the former was finally set down at 1,040.

Cleveland, Ohio.—On the 3d instant, Castle, the Know Nothing candidate for Mayor, was elected, by about 500 majority, over Ex-Governor Wood, Democrat. In Columbus, the Know Nothings were victorious. In Toledo, the anti-Know Nothings carried the election.

Sandusky, Ohio.—The "Sag Nicht" Mayor is elected by 250 majority. The township is also Anti-Know Nothing.

Cayuga Falls, Ohio.—The Know Nothings have been defeated.

Calais, Maine.—At the municipal election on the 2d instant, Wm. D. Lawrence, the Know Nothing candidate, was elected Mayor by a majority of 204. The Know Nothings have elected their entire ticket.

Portland, Maine.—Mr. Neal Dow, the author of the Maine liquor law, was last week elected Mayor of the city of Portland. His majority was only twenty-three, out of more than 3,700 votes.

Rhode Island.—The election in Dhode Island, on Wednesday, the 4th instant, passed off quietly. The Know Nothings carried all but Glocester and Foster. Glocester elects Democrats to the General Assembly by twelve majority; Foster elects a Whig Senator by one majority, and a Democratic Representative by four majority. All other members of both Houses are Know Nothings.

The vote for Governor Hoppin, the present Whig incumbent, is 10,466, and for Mr. Potter, his Democratic competitor, 2,306, giving Hoppin a majority of 8,094. The majority for Mr. Rose, the Lieutenant Governor, is 5,226. He was only upon the Know Nothing ticket. In the eastern district, Mr. Durfee is elected to Congress by a majority of 3,700. In the western district, Mr. Thurston's majority will be near 4,000.

Connecticut.—The Whigs and Know Nothings elected eighteen of the twenty-one State Senators, and about two-thirds of the members of the House of Representatives. Mr. Dutton was the Whig candidate, Mr. Ingham the Democratic, and Mr. Minor the Know Nothing candate. There being no choice by the people, it is supposed that Mr. Minor will be chosen by the Legislature. The vote stood thus: Dutton, 9,212; Ingham, 26,992; 26,515.

Three towns are not heard from. Four Anti-Nebraska and Know Nothing members of Congress are chosen, viz: Ezra Clark, jr., in the 1st district, by 551 plurality over James T. Pratt, the late member; John Woodruff, 2d, by 1,915 plurality in the 2d district; Sidney Dean, by a large majority in the 3d district; and Wm. W. Welch in the 4th district.

The Democracy of New Haven fired one hundred guns in honor of the election of two Democrats to the State Legislature, from that city!

St. Louis, Mo.—The municipal election at St. Louis, on the 2d instant, was conducted with order and quietness. The Know Nothings were generally victorious, having elected all their nominees but two, the City Marshal and City Treasurer. They elected Mr. Washington King to the office of Mayor, by a large plurality. The number of votes received by him is 4,264. John Hogan, Whig, received 2,000, and J. H. Lightner, Dem., 3,171.

Jacksonville, Fa.—On the 2d instant, the annual election for an Intendant and six Councilmen came off. One hundred and eighty-three votes were polled for Intendant, of which Philip Fraser, the Know Nathing candidate, received 114; his opponent, F. Livingston, 65; and 4 scattering. The six Councilmen were elected by the Know Nothings by about the same vote.

Richmond, Va.—The Know Nothings here, on the 5th instant, elected their candidate for Mayor, carried both branches of the City Council, and also elected all of their city officers. The vote for Mayor is as follows: Joseph Mayo, Know Nothing, 1,971; Col. Manford, Dem., 1,715. The vote for the other officers is about the same.

Columbia, S. C.—The election for Mayor, on the 3d instant, has resulted in the choice of Mr. Arthur, said to be a Know Nothing, by 130 majority.

Portsmouth, Va., April 7.—D. D. Fiske, Mayor, and the entire Know Nothing ticket for Councilmen, were elected here to-day by 151 majority.

Iowa.—The returns show that the Whig State officers have been elected by a larger majority than was received last August.

Louisville.—The Know Nothings have swept the city by tremendous majorities. Barbe, their candidate for Mayor, and all their other municipal officers, except one School Trustee and two Councilmen, have been elected. The election passed off quietly.

Confusion.—It is stated that the Grand State Council of Know Nothings met at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on the 3d instant, but broke up in confusion the following afternoon, the cause of the difficulty being opposition to an open organization. Public opinion runs counter to secresy and oath-bound conspiracies. Messrs. Cameron, Johnson, and Gen. Irvin, left in disgust.

Purifying!—A Democratic Convention was recently held at Philadelphia, and those delegates suspected of Know Nothingism were examined under oath, and witnesses were also examined in relation to the accusations against them. Those who refused to testify, or against whom the charge was proved, were expelled. Among those expelled was William S. Allen, Democratic Commissioner. On his refusing to depart, he was forcibly expelled.

At at entertainment given to ex-Senator Cooper, of Pennsylvania, on the 26th of March, that gentleman delivered an address, in which he said that "whilst he had been faithful to Freedom, and endeavored to vindicate it against its assailants, he nevertheless embraced every opportunity to cultivate and establish kind relations, political and social, between the North and the South." Mr. Cooper is unquestionably a courteous gentleman, and sustains kind relations with his brethren of the South, but the evidences of his faithfulness to Freedom are yet to be presented to the judgment of the people of his State. They do not exist in the record of his Congressional career.

Neal Dow is at last elected Mayor of Portland, and the Prohibitory law may thus be regarded as triumphant.

Iowa has, by a popular vote, confirmed the action of her Legislature in favor of the Prohibitory law.

A public meeting at Lexington, Mo., on the 19th of March, resolved to raise $10,000 to assist emigrants to Kansas from the slaveholding States. But we suppose they did not really raise more than enough to keep a number of men in Kansas until after the elections.

James H. Thomas and William H. Polk are candidates for Congress, in the Sixth Congressional District of Kentucky.

Peter Sken Smith is addressing the Know Nothings of Pennsylvania, in favor of an *open* organization.

Hon. Meredith P. Gentry is the Whig candidate for Governor of Tennessee, at the election on the first of August.

Judge Bayly, of Virginia, says he is a State Rights Democrat; violently opposed to all political societies; in favor of every citizen's having the right of suffrage; opposed to Henry A. Wise (who is a relative of his) and the whole Democratic State ticket; against religious proscription, and in favor of a reform in the naturalization laws, in order to exclude paupers and criminals from our shores. The Judge is a candidate for re-election to Congress, and one of the severest yet one of the fairest of the champions of Slavery.

HON. JAMES C. JONES returned from Washington last Saturday evening, and his hosts of friends will be glad to learn that he is in excellent health. His labors in the United States Senate have not in the least impaired his constitution.—*Memphis, Tennessee, Eagle.*

We do not think any labors performed by Mr. Jones, during the late Congress, were by any means apt to impair his constitution, and we are very sure they did no good to the constitution of the country.

Miscellaneous Items.

HOW TO GET OVER PECUNIARY EMBARRASSMENTS.—A New York paper regretfully states the following facts, which we quote with equal satisfaction:

"The export of foreign dry goods at New York, for the five weeks ending March 30th, are but little more than half as large as for the same period of last year, and not half as large as for the corresponding period of the year before last. This falling off is most marked in woollens and cottons, but is also shown in silks and linens, proving that there has been a general decline in the receipts of nearly all descriptions of foreign fabrics."

Retrenchment is the remedy.

The Council Bluffs (Iowa) *Bugle*, of March 20th, acknowledges the receipt of intelligence of the passage of a bill providing for raising four regiments of soldiers for the defence of the Western frontiers, and appropriating $2,500,000 to carry out the provisions of the act, and adds that this begins to look like giving justice in the protection of person and property of the settlers and pioneers of the West. It may look like it, and not prove quite the thing, after all. Our most liberal acts, with respect to the Indians, have always been found in our war appropriations.

The same paper gives us a glowing description of the new town of De Soto, in Nebraska, which, it says, is situated in one of the most delightful, fertile, and romantic regions, of this new Territory, directly upon the margin of the broad Missouri, with an excellent landing, and surrounded with an abundance of timber, rock, stone-coal, excellent water, and every natural inducement conceiveable for the upbuilding and prosperity of a large and populous city. A good water-power mill is to be completed in the spring, and the Legislature has made liberal provisions for ferries and other public advantages.

The *Niles Michigan* tells of a cure of erysipelas made by poultices of cranberries, but does not say whether they were cooked or raw.

A Cincinnati paper refutes "a villauous lie" told by one of its cotemporaires. We suppose it meant to correct an erroneous statement.

An Indian at Ontonagon, Michigan, during the past winter, was attacked by the small pox, when he drove the other Indians from his camp, took his faithful dog and hung him to a limb of a tree, and then suspended himself from another.

We find a statement in the Baltimore *Sun*, which we presume to be correct, to the effect that Richard Wynn and Alfred Woodley, who were part of the crew of a vessel which loaded some time ago in Roanoke river, were tried lately in Bertie county, North Carolina, on a charge of receiving and secreting a slave on board the vessel, with a view to his abduction; that the captain had discovered the fugitive, and caused the two sailors to be arrested; that Wynn was acquitted, but Woodley was found guilty, and will have to suffer the penalty of death. If a thousand dollars, or its value in any other description of property, had been stolen, the penalty would not be so great; nay, had a child, a daughter of one of the most esteemed citizens, been stolen and foully dealt with, the life of the outlaw would not be sacrificed. But rendering assistance and succor to a slave who wished to fly from slavery, is to be punished with death!

A correspondent of the *New York Post* states that John Randolph once challenged Daniel Webster to fight a duel, and that Mr. Benton bore the challenge.

A steamer called the "City of Baltimore" has been built on the Clyde, for the Liverpool and Philadelphia Steamship Company, which is described by the *Liverpool Journal* as the largest steamship afloat. She is 360 feet long and 40 feet wide.

Politicians in Virginia are endeavoring to convict all the opposing candidates of friendship to human Freedom, but with very poor success thus far.

On the third of April, the Massachusetts House of Delagates passed a bill declaring that, in determining the qualifications of scholars to be admitted in any public school or any district school in that Commonwealth, no distinction shall be made on account of the race, color, or religious opinions, of the applicant or scholar.

Cornelius & Baker, chandelier manufacturers, Philadelphia, communicate between their store and manufactory, two miles apart, by means of a perfect Morse telegraph apparatus.

A newspaper before us records the death of a man "from the immoderate use of stimulants." As neither capsicum nor mustard is likely to be so abused, we must presume that the poor man died drunk.

An acre of land "out West" may be bought for a couple of dollars. An acre of land, of inferior quality, divided into lots, in the city of New York, sells for from one to three and a half millions of dollars! In view of these facts, how many land owners in the West will, upon reflection, object to the ingress upon their lands of a few hundred or a few thousand hard-working European farmers, mechanics, and laborers? It is the presence of a people that gives value to land.

The *New Orleans Picayune*, of March 27, says that one great cause of the good order which prevailed at the polls on the preceding day, was the fact that they were not held at or immediately adjoining cabarets, grog-shops, and coffee-houses. There never before was seen so little intoxication at any warmly-contested election in New Orleans.

MISS GREENFIELD.—In speaking of a concert recently given in Baltimore, the *Sun* of that city says that "on her first appearance she advanced in a very respectful and deferential manner, evidently realizing her social position, but was at once encouraged by applause." She was encored on singing each of the peices of the programme. The audience was white, composed of a large number of ladies as well as gentlemen, and in a slave State, where the caste of the vocalist operated against her.

COM. PERRY says the temperature of Japan, corresponding in many repsects with that of our Atlantic States, from Maine to South Carolina inclusive, requires that the inhabitants should be clad in warmer vestments than cotton—therefore, woollen cloths, of assorted qualities, would be to the Japanese more acceptable than cottons, and these should be chiefly of the darker colors. But, with regard to the colors, selections may be made by reference to the drawings of costumes which are to appear in the report of the Japan Expedition, to be published during the present year. Specimens of the various fabrics of Japan and Lew Chew have been brought to this country by the squadron, most of which are in the hands of the officers of the Government, and are to be placed in the Patent Office for public inspection.

On opening the *St. Louis Pilot*, of the 31st of March, our eyes rested on a large heading, "An Affair of Honor;" but, on reading the article, what think you, gentle reader, did it treat of? Simply an intended duel—of mutual efforts at murder by two men who are not only sworn to support the laws, but absolutely profane the office of law-makers. An affair of honor, to be sure!

RESPECT FOR THE LAWS.—In the Richmond (Virginia) *Daily Dispatch* of March 23d we find the following item, which has also been copied into the Washington *Union* of the 25th:

"*Judge Lynch.*—The negro, who killed a Mr. Russell, in Clay county, Mo., not long since, by cutting him to pieces with a corn knife, was taken from jail last week, and hung by the citizens, without judge or jury."

This is all right. The negro had killed his master, or overseer, or some other white man, under what provocation we do not know. The laws, to be sure, would have condemned the negro to death; but the citizens were indignant, and could not brook the law's delay, and they accordingly took him from jail, and hung him without judge or jury.

Let no "Northern fanatic" point to this case as an instance of outlawry, and claim that it extenuates any of the horrible atrocities committed in his section of the country, where sometimes a negro, who has been guilty of the enormity of running away from the bondage that is so great a blessing to the negro race, is taken from jail, and set free by the citizens without judge or jury. No, no; let not the just indignation of the Missouri people be compared to this. Who knows, indeed, that the negro murderer in Missouri was not at heart a runaway, and that the crime of murder was not a consequence of his insane desire for freedom? And if so, who is to blame but Northern fanatics? It is strange that the patriarchal institution is still so little understood.

THE TERRORS OF SLAVERY!—The *Easton* (Talbot county, Maryland) *Gazette* of the 7th of April says:

"There has been considerable feeling in our town and county the past week, owing to many rumors in circulation that the blacks of the county contemplated, during the Easter holydays, an insurrection similar to that mentioned a few weeks since, as contemplated in Dorchester county. A large meeting was held in Easton, on Wednesday night, to take measures for the effectual suppression of the schools and meetings illegally held by blacks, without the supervision and authority of whites, as provided for by law. A resolution was adopted, requesting the citizens of the county to keep their servants at home during the holydays, as far as practicable, particularly as the small-pox prevails in two or three sections of the county, and there is great danger of the loathsome disease being spread by free intercourse."

The Chicago *Journal*, commenting on the result of the New Hampshire election, says, very truly, that "the Free Soil sentiment is stronger than any party, and no organization can live without it."

A committee of the Massachusetts Legislature lately made an inquisitorial visit to a Roman Catholic female boarding school at Roxbury, and to their great surprise found everything proper and in order!

The Kansas *Herald of Freedom* stated, before the late election, that there were full a hundred Missourians encamped in tents and wagons on the Wakarusa, in that election district, waiting an opportunity to cast their votes, with the view of securing the Legislature to the pro-slavery interest. The same pains were being taken, it added, to supply voters enough in each election precinct to carry every district against the advocates of Freedom. We have seen the result.

A paper before us propounds a question in the rule of three: Since, after Senator Douglas made a speech in Richmond, his party lost the election of Mayor by a shortcoming of 1,246 votes, by how many votes would they have lost it, if he had made two speeches?

Thursday night, April 5th, a man, apparently a watchman, appeared at the door of Mr. John Londen, on Eager street, Baltimore, and stated that a friend, naming him, was in the watch house, and desired his kind offices in getting him out. Mr. L. thought that it was singular the friend named should be placed in such a predicament, and hastened to prepare himself for his relief. Being dressed, he put some $45 in his pocket, and, not forgetting his watch, started for the watch house, but had not proceeded far, until he was attacked, gagged, robbed, and tied fast to a gate, while the villains escaped with their booty.

"Ion," the Washington correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun*, thinks that the thirty-fourth Congress is to settle the Presidential question; that between a Whig, a Democrat, and a Know Nothing candidate, it is doubtful which would succeed; and adds: "Were the question to turn merely on the Slavery issue, it would be determined in favor of the South, but that is not likely to be the issue." The verdict of the people on the Nebraska swindle certainly does not confirm this opinion.

The *Chicago Journal* says that Gen. Shields was recently at the Tremont House, in that city; and adds, that he intends to make that city his future home, and will devote himself entirely to the practice of the law. We doubt not he will be more faithful to his clients than he was to his own conscience, at the time he voted to repeal the Missouri Compromise law, and more faithful than they for whom he stultified himself have been to him.

The *St. Louis Democrat* of the 27th March welcomes Colonel Benton to Missouri, and says that "when Missouri was an outpost, St. Louis a village, and the whole West a satrapy of the East, Colonel Benton started in public life, and with him, and through him and his, this same West has grown up into a great empire, and St. Louis into a metropolis, whose prospects of wealth and magnificence stand unrivalled at this time."

The *New York Evening Post* alludes to certain teachers who, in order to render the Christian religion acceptable to the Indians, represented Christ as a great warrior, who had taken an incredible number of scalps; and on the same principle accounts for the singular zeal of Northern doctors of divinity to make Slavery appear a "Christian" institution.

The friends of Mr. Marcy in New York are moving in his behalf. He *may* be elected President.

PHONOGRAPHY.

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College Hill, November 16, 1852.

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Butter, Roll	25 @ 28
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Cheese	10½@ 12½
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[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

litical power, and all officers should, as far as practicable, be chosen by a direct vote of the People.

Those persons, legal voters, who approve of the above principles, and are desirous of uniting with such an organization, can meet in their respective localities, and organize temporarily, by choosing a President and Secretary, and, having pledged an honorable secresy, subscribe their names to the Platform, and authorize their Secretary to address Box No. 733, Post Office, Cleveland, O., (post-paid,) when an initiating Deputy will be sent to perfect their organization at the earliest practicable moment. In the mean time, the enrollment of additional names may be continued until the Deputy shall arrive. It is desirable to have a complete roll of all who approve of these principles by the 4th day of July next.

Members of other secret organizations, who are resolved to vote only for men possessing the qualifications mentioned in the 6th article of the above Platform, can consistently unite with this, as the Order is not a political party for the elevation of its own members, but for the promotion of good and true men wherever found; and it is ready to co-operate with all who maintain these principles, of whatever political name. BY AUTHORITY.

We must object to the secresy of this organization. Republicanism should be open, bold, willing to meet responsibility.

Again: if by "Popery" be meant any attempt, made at any time, by the Catholic Church, or any other church, to acquire political power, no true American will object to fixed opposition to it; but, if by "Popery" be meant the Catholic faith and ceremonials, then we say, a *political* party has nothing to do with them. Opposition to them must be carried on by *religious* instrumentalities alone. Let us preserve necessary distinctions, and keep sectarian controversies out of the political arena.—*Ed. Era.*

THREE REASONS.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *Feb.* 10, 1855.

I see by the *Era*, that for publishing extracts from private letters, opposed to Know Nothingism, you are accused of publishing "supposed" extracts on that subject. I will, however, answer for the genuineness of one of them; and this, though intended as a private letter, you are welcome to use as you please, from date to signature inclusive, which will settle the question of its authorship, in Northern Ohio, at least, should you choose to publish it.

Though I am as far from being a Catholic as the most ultra Know Nothing, believe as little in their religion, and am as decidedly opposed to the religious intolerance of many of them, and of their political action in some cases, especially their crusade against our free schools, yet I cannot conscientiously join the latter in their entire and unqualified opposition to Catholics as a sect, or to foreigners as a class. That among them are many ignorant and vicious persons, I well know; and so there are among professing Protestants and native-born Americans; but, on the broad principles of humanity, I am opposed, in either case, to holding *all* responsible for the condition or conduct of a *part*. Both Catholics and foreigners aided in *obtaining* our independence, and both have since bravely and zealously aided in *maintaining* it, and, I presume, would do so again, if occasion required; and justice, as well as common humanity, seems to forbid our adopting the proscriptive policy of the Know Nothings.

Another reason why I cannot join them, is this: they adopt and thus practically *endorse* the most objectionable feature, as I view it, of the Jesuit policy; that is, their inviolable secrecy in relation to all their schemes, however bad they may be.

My third reason for my opposition to Know Nothingism is based on Anti-Slavery premises, which I can neither conscientiously nor *consistently*, as I think, abandon; and I cannot see how honest and intelligent Anti-Slavery men can join or act with a party of which, and a very *prominent* member, is Millard Fillmore.

OLMSTEAD, *March* 25, 1855.

Believing in the sentiment, that "thrice armed is he whose cause is just," which I consider as applicable to parties as to individuals, after contending long and zealously for equal rights for all men, and when the justice of our cause is beginning to be fully and *practically* acknowledged by the best men of all parties, and a glorious triumph seems almost within our reach, I do hope the friends of Freedom will not desert or *indirectly* repudiate their former principles, by joining in a crusade against any sect or class, on a plea of correcting present or preventing future evils, for which, if not more imaginary than real, we have already an ample remedy. Let us continue to strive to help those who cannot help themselves, and oppose oppression on the broad principles of common humanity, and then we shall be in the best possible position to oppose it efficiently, come from what quarter it may.

Yours, as ever, for Freedom and Justice,
C. M. ADDISON.

THE SLAVE CASES—INTERESTING ITEMS.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *March* 30, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The first case was habeas corpus for Alfred and Emanuel, two negroes claimed by Rev. Mr. Haurl, or Harle, of Missouri, whom he had brought to Kentucky, and was taking home with him. He marched them along the landing, from the Maysville to the Louisville boat, chained. The writ took them from the Louisville boat. Storer was the Judge. He talked pretty loud about his determination to meet the question boldly. The matter was argued before him by two able counsel on the part of Harle, and by four experienced counsel for the alleged slaves. It was in this case that Judge Walker made his great speech. Storer said he would give his decision on a day named; but in the mean time his disposition to meet the question evaporated, and he went over to the jail with one of the counsel for the alleged slaves, and Chambers, one of Harle's counsel, and questioned the negroes as to *their wishes.* They said they wanted to go with Harle. He returned to court, and ordered them to be brought in, and interrogated them again. They again said they wanted to go with Harle. He then made an order *permitting them to go,* and a deputy sheriff attended them to the river, *to see that they should be protected against being compelled by unlawful violence to remain.* This was the day before that fixed for the decision. Very considerate Judge! Still more considerate deputy sheriff! Very judicious negroes! Thus ended that farce.

The next case was that of Rosetta Armistead. She was brought into the State by James Miller, to whose care she was committed by the Rev. Mr. Dennison, her master according to the flesh and Kentucky law, at Louisville, for the purpose of being taken to ex-President Tyler's residence in Virginia, to be nurse to Mr. D.'s daughter, ex-President Tyler's grand-daughter. Mr. Miller took her to Columbus, where he remained a day. During that time she was brought before the Probate Court on a writ of habeas corpus. The Court decided she was free, and the girl having made choice of L. G. Van Slyke as guardian, the Court appointed him such, and he gave bond. A few days afterwards, Dennison went to Columbus, had an interview with the girl, tried all manner of persuasions to induce her to return to Slavery, and left the matter to her decision. She chose, thoughtless creature as she was, to remain free. He then bid her good bye, saying he should probably never see her again, sorrowing most of all, perhaps, "that he should see her face no more." Unable, in fact, to restrain his tender longings for her society, he shortly after applied to a man named Pendery, whom Judge McLean has made Commissioner, for a warrant to seize the girl as a fugitive slave, which was granted, of course, and executed, by seizing her at Columbus, and bringing her to Cincinnati. Here Judge Parker, of the Court of Common Pleas, allowed a writ of habeas corpus; and, after argument and full consideration, discharged the girl, and directed the sheriff to deliver her to her guardian, which was done. No sooner was it done, however, than the Marshal retook the girl on the same warrant. This was yesterday. To-day application was made to Judge Parker for a rule against the Marshal and Dennison, to show cause why they should not be attached for contempt; and upon their appearance and application, time was given them to show cause till to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock. Meanwhile a second writ of habeas corpus has been allowed by Judge Parker, being the third allowed this month in behalf of this child.

I must not forget to say that Judge Parker's opinion, on discharging the girl and delivering her to her guardian, was admirable, and admirably expressed. You will see it in the Cincinnati *Gazette* of to-morrow. Yours, &c.

To complete the history—the Marshal was imprisoned for contempt of court, and let out by Judge McLean, on the ground that he had acted legally. Rosetta was also declared free by the Commissioner.—*Ed. Era.*

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For the National Era.

THE LEGAL TENURE OF SLAVERY.

LETTER XXVII.

THE PREAMBLE OF THE CONSTITUTION, LIKE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AUTHORIZES AND DEMANDS A NATIONAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

To the Friends of American Liberty:

I now propose to take up the Constitution in order, and examine it in detail. Instead of beginning and ending, as some do, with the minor and disputed provisions, I shall begin with the beginning of the instrument, and call attention to its general scope and main features, which will be found to be unmistakeable and explicit—indisputable, and hitherto undisputed. Having noted down these, I shall proceed upon that well-known rule of logical exposition which teaches that the minor details of any instrument, if obscure, disputed, or capable of conflicting interpretations, shall be construed in the light of the general scope and obvious intent and aim of the document, concerning which there can be no mistake, and in respect to which there has never been any dispute. This rule is but an appropriate exemplification of the universal process and conditions of all logical induction, wherein things already known and undisputed are first stated and laid down as premises from whence the things less certain, doubtful, or controverted, may be legitimately deduced, proved, or ascertained. Yet I shall not confine the discussion even to *this* reasonable rule, but shall give my opponents the benefit of any advantages they may be able to gain from *either* of the three theories of exposition described in my last letter, the only ones known or conceivable.

The PREAMBLE comes first. It is not only first in order, but first in importance and authority, as being the solemn declaration of the people themselves, (whose the document is,) concerning the *parties* to the instrument, what the instrument *is*, and for what objects and purposes it was *intended.* So far from admitting the dogma of some, that the Preamble, containing such declarations, is no part of the Constitution itself, I insist that it is, by the declaration of the people themselves, their own authorized key to the whole, the very heart and core of the Constitution, holding paramount precedence and authority over the whole, insomuch that if any of the minor details of the instrument could be questionable, it would be the prerogative of the Preamble to decide, as umpire, between the contending parties. I might go even further, and maintain that if any of the minor details of the instrument were found to be in direct conflict with the Preamble, they are to be set aside as nugatory, on the ground of such conflict, because it is not to be presumed that the people intended by the instrument to defeat their own purpose in framing it. But on this I shall have no occasion to insist, because no such conflict will be found. The Preamble runs thus:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

First. Notice the *parties* to this instrument. It is not "We, the *slaveholders*," nor "We, the *free* people," nor "We, the *white* people," but "We, THE PEOPLE of the United States"—ALL of us, without distinction of race, avocation, or color. And, accordingly, the Constitution makes no distinction of race, avocation, or color, from beginning to end. This single phrase, "We, the people of the United States," the very first words of the Constitution, are conclusive of the whole question. Nothing can be more certain than that *no one* of "the people of the United States" can be *legally* enslaved, so long as this Constitution remains "the supreme law of the land." For all "the people" are parties to the Constitution, and equally entitled to its benefits. The *white* people have no more right to claim that the Constitution is exclusively for them, than the *colored* people have to say that it is exclusively for them. This is certainly true, so far as the *words* are concerned. The dead letter rule of interpretation ("strict construction") can guide us to no other result.* Neither can the rule of the Supreme Court, before quoted, viz: "that the intention of the instrument must prevail;" and that "this intention must be collected from the words."—12 *Wheaton*, 332. It would be difficult to select "*words*" more perfectly adapted to express and declare the legal and constitutional equality of all "the people of the United States." The 3,200,000 slaves outnumber the slaveholders (even counting the *families* of the 347,525 slaveholders, on an estimate of five to a family, or 1,737,625) in a proportion of about 32 to 17. If the slaves form *no* part of "the people of the United States," what part of them *can* the slaveholders form? If either the one class or the other were to be miraculously blotted out of existence to-morrow, or set down in the deserts of Monomotapa, which class could best be spared? For the purposes of cotton growing, so important in the eyes of Southern statesmen, which class could best be spared from the country? Taking, then, the "*spirit*" of the Constitution, in its guardianship over "*the general welfare*" of the country, including its agricultural products, what statesman could construe away the *colored* "people of the United States," dooming them to political non-existence? Even by the customary application of the *three-fifths* rule, every slave must be put down three-fifths of a man, which would entitle a majority of the slaves to the dignity of "people of the United States." Seriously, we must bring ourselves to deny the *human nature* of the slaves, before we can keep ourselves in countenance in denying that they are to be reckoned among "the people of the United States." Thus much for the first seven words of the Federal Constitution, which, of themselves, are sufficient to warrant and demand the abolition of Slavery.

Second. Notice the declared *nature* of the instrument. It is a "*Constitution*" of *Government*, not articles of confederation between absolutely sovereign States. It is the instrument of "We, the people," and not of the States, primarily. It marks out *work* for a Government, and, of course, for a Government with the essential and universal prerogatives of all civil Government, "to establish justice," to "execute justice between a man and his neighbor"—"to protect all our rights, and take none of them from us."†

It is, moreover, a "Constitution for the *United* States of America," not for separate, independent sovereignties—not for free States and slave States, recognising powers in a *part* of the States, or their citizens, which do not pertain to *all* the States, and their citizens. Very manifestly it cannot pertain to *such* a Constitution to protect Slavery and slaveholding in some of the States, without protecting Slavery and slaveholding in all of them. As certainly as it cannot do the latter, it cannot do the former; and nothing can be constitutional in one of the States which is not constitutional in all of them. These are items to be noted and remembered, when we may have occasion for them.

Third. Notice the declared *objects* for which the Constitution was framed and adopted by the people, in establishing their National Government; and, especially, take notice, as you look at them, that there is not a single one of those objects to which *Slavery* does not interpose a formidable obstacle, while, to the most vital of them it presents so deadly an antagonism, that a war of extermination must, of necessity, be waged between them, until the one shall have been overthrown by the other. If the objects of the Constitution are to be promoted and attained by the Federal Government, (and what else could the people have intended; what else is the Constitution or the Government good for?) then the Federal Constitution is inconsistent with the Federal toleration of Slavery, and the Federal Government must wage war upon it, and overthrow it, or else fail of securing the grand objects of its organization. Examine for yourselves, item by item, fellow-citizens, and see.

(1.) "*To form a more perfect union.*" What is there that endangers the union of the States but the existence of Slavery? Some may say that it is the agitation of the slave question by Abolitionists that endangers the Union. But this is not the true statement of the case. Slavery is, *of necessity*, a disturbing force in a Republic; an element antagonistic to the fundamental idea of the Government. It is the opposite of that "liberty and equality," which republican institutions are designed and adapted to secure. Such an order of men as slaveholders, exercising unlimited power over their fellow-men, is an anomaly in a Republic, and cannot but disturb the public harmony and union. Slaveholders constitute a privileged order, and claim rights inconsistent with the equal rights of their neighbors, whether non-slaveholding citizens or slaves. An element of growing and constant discord is thus introduced. The interests, moreover, of free and slave labor can never be reconciled. No system of public measures, of financial policy, of political economy, that is just and equal to non-slaveholders, can ever give satisfaction to slaveholders. Experiment has fully proved this. The slave system cannot live without systematic depredations upon the non-slaveholders; and the slaveholders will continue to wield the National Government for its own aggrandizement, at the expense of the free States, until the Federal Government shall have determined upon the abolition of Slavery. It cannot be neutral; it never has been, and never can be. Through its action, an incessant course of aggression upon the rights of the free States has constantly been carried on, including the effort to extend the area of Slavery. Until recently, it has been supposed that *this* phase of the antagonism between Freedom and Slavery could be adjusted by "compromise." But the repeal, by the South, of the Missouri Compromise, (dictated to the North, on a threat of dissolution of the Union, in 1820,) has now dispelled that delusion, and it is understood, on both sides, that the struggle must go on, until either Liberty or Slavery is extinguished. Now, the Federal Constitution was designed "to form a more perfect union" than had previously existed, and consequently it was *not* formed to tolerate, to protect, (and consequently to foster,) the grand, the inevitable element of National discord. All the discord we now witness has grown out of those expositions of the Constitution against which I am contending, and which recognise the constitutionality of slaveholding. The practice is itself an aggression, and embodies the elements of discord. To say that Slavery is constitutional is equivalent to saying that aggression, contests, discord, and alienation, are constitutional, for they cannot be separated from each other. The rules of "strict construction," of the Supreme Court, and of the "spirit and intent" of the instrument, all harmonize here.

[LETTER XXVII TO BE CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT.]

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* It would be an appeal from "strict construction," and open the whole ground of contemporary history, (including the Declaration of Independence, and Jefferson's and Madison's testimonies against Slavery, or "property in man,") if any one should object that the negroes, being non-voters, took no part in forming the Constitution, or adopting it, and can therefore have no interest or lot in its benefits. Besides, the objection proves too much. It proves that *white* non-voters, men, women, and children, for the same reason, are not protected by the Constitution.

† Jefferson.

For the National Era.

EMIGRATION SONG.

Ho! ye friends of emigration,
 Help the swelling of the wave,
From the freehold of our nation
 Bearing forth the true and brave.

Sons of bold New England hardy!
 From afar comes up the cry,
"Freemen's steps should not be tardy,
 When the sound is Liberty!"

Better that the red man never
 Leave the graves where sleep his sires,
Than that Freedom's voice should ever
 Mourn o'er her extinguished fires.

We are coming from the mountains,
 From the crowded city's hum,
From the vales and murmuring fountains
 Of our free and happy home.

Coming with New England blessing,
 With her aid and earnest prayers
On our lips the home caressing—
 These shall lighten all our cares

Ours are steps that never falter,
 Bold as the Atlantic wave!
Ours are minds that wear no halter—
 Truth and right the boon we crave!

Soon from every hill and valley,
 Solitary now, and lone,
Where the summer breezes dally
 With the forest's echoing tone;

Where the tide of emigration
 Sweeps the Kansas shores along,
Shall be heard, with acclamation,
 Liberty's triumphant song.

THE ELECTION AND THE RIOTS AT CINCINNATI.

We copy the following from the Cincinnati *Gazette* of Monday evening, April 2d:

"*The City Election.*—The American ticket has been defeated in Cincinnati, much to our regret. The German and Irish vote was cast almost in a body against it, as will be seen by the vote cast in the German and Irish wards. While we write this article, (at one o'clock A. M.,) we have returns from only a portion of the wards, yet we have enough to satisfy us that the American ticket is defeated, 'wholesale and retail.' Mr. Faran's majority will probably not fall below eight hundred, and it may be larger, irrespective of the eleventh ward, the votes of which have been destroyed. The result has sorely disappointed our hope."

In a postscript to the above, the *Gazette* gives partial returns from various wards, which show a majority of 424 for Mr. Faran over Mr. Taylor, and adds:

"We do not deem these returns to be correct in every particular. We think that the fifteenth ward will give between five and six hundred majority, when complete, for Taylor; while the ninth will give six hundred for Faran. It is possible that a portion of the American ticket is elected."

The *Gazette* gives the following account of the riots, which, though deeply disgraceful, and much to be deprecated, do not appear to have been so serious in their results as has been reported through the telegraph:

"The election yesterday was a deeply exciting one, and was characterized by scenes which all good citizens must regret. The fights in some instances began in the morning, with the opening of the polls. At the fourth ward there was a fight, in which several persons participated, but we believe no particular injury was inflicted on any one. In the sixteenth ward, American judges were chosen. This led to some hard words and a fight, in which three or four persons were pretty severely beaten. In the eleventh, a difficulty arose early in the afternoon. It was rumored that the Germans would not permit Americans to vote, and, in consequence of this rumor, a party of seven or eight Americans went up to see what was the state of things, and to help their friends to get in their votes. A German was arrested by the police officers, and, as they were taking him away, he was rescued, and officer Carey severely beaten on the ground. The Americans were soon informed, and towards six o'clock the fighting was resumed, in the course of which a man named George Reeder was severely, and it is supposed fatally, stabbed. Dr. Brown was hit on the head with a colt, and much hurt; and Mr. Higdon, William Smith, and John Leonard, were beaten more or less severely. Soon after this, a rush was made at the polls, the ballot-box seized, taken out of the house, broken in pieces, and the tickets scattered about the streets. A party then went up to Jackson's hill, to seize the cannon which had been used yesterday to fire minute guns in honor of Jefferson's birthday. The gun was captured. The sword was taken from the captain of the gun squad, and the flag which belonged to it was carried off and planted on the engine-house, where the polls were. The crowd soon after went down town, passing by the ninth ward polls, when another fight was got up; but, the polls having been closed, they proceeded to the thirteenth ward polls. As the party was passing with the cannon, they were assaulted by Irishmen there assembled, who threw boulders at them. A general scrimmage then ensued, in which boulders flew like hail, and pistol shots were heard on every side. The Irish gave way when they saw the Americans loading their cannon with boulders. The windows of the houses in the neighborhood, into which the Irish retreated, were riddled with boulders. One of the boulders shot from the cannon struck a man not engaged in the fight, and inflicted a severe wound on the head; the others went through the sign of the Mechanics' and Traders' Hall."

The above account shows that the vote of the eleventh ward was entirely lost by the destruction of the ballot-box. The telegraphic reports inform us that the ballot-box in the twelfth ward shared the same fate. It having been alleged (or ascertained) that the box in this ward contained fifty-five more tickets than there were names recorded on the poll-books, one of the judges insisted on throwing out the entire vote, but the others would not agree; and while the judges were counting the votes, a body of men entered the room and took the box containing the tickets forcibly from them, and then burnt the ballots and tally sheets in the open street. These two wards gave to Mr. Faran a majority of from ten to twelve hundred votes, the destruction of which, it is said, will elect Mr. Taylor by a majority of four or five hundred. It is further stated, however, much to the credit of Mr. Taylor, that he is too good an American to accept an election obtained by such disreputable means.

The peace of Cincinnati was further threatened on Tuesday night and Wednesday morning, by the more violent members of the opposing parties, but no collision actually occurred.

THE NEWS FROM SPAIN—DETAILS OF THE CUBAN CONSPIRACY, &c.

The Madrid correspondent of the *London Times*, under date of March 8, writes as follows:

"The Government has received confidential communications from General Concha, with respect to the state of the island of Cuba, which is evidently such as to inspire the Captain General with considerable uneasiness, although he confidently trusts to surmount all difficulties, especially if the Ministers and the Cortes attend to his suggestions with respect to the line of colonial policy to be observed. He considers the relative position of Spain and Cuba to be very similar to that of England and Canada in 1837, and wishes the example of England to be followed, and concessions be made to the colony. Cuba, in his opinion, should send deputies to the Cortes. Care should be taken not to alarm the slave-owners by talk of emancipation. Such a measure would inevitably throw the island into the arms of the United States. To declare the slave trade piracy would also be a most dangerous step; but General Concha is using his utmost exertions, and will continue to do so, to prevent the traffic. The island is evidently not to be governed as it has been hitherto; and a garrison of 20,000 men will be found insufficient to preserve it to Spain, if the inhabitants be not conciliated by liberal legislation.

"Cuba has greatly changed within the last few years, and there can be little doubt that General Concha begins to note a wide difference in the state of the public mind now and during his former residence there as Captain General. The late conspiracy was very extensive, and dissatisfaction is wide-spread."

GEN. CONCHA'S VERSION OF THE CONSPIRACY.

The private telegraph communicates to the Paris journals, under date of March 8, the following details of the conspiracy laid before the Council of Ministers at Madrid, by M. Bustillos:

"For a long time past, General Concha had a presentiment of this conspiracy, from the assassination of the man who had taken Lopez (Castaneda) and the abortive plot of Baracoa. The police at length succeeded in unravelling the thread of it; and it appears, from the declarations made and the papers seized, that the plan of the conspiracy had existed long before the arrival of General Concha in the island; that the conspirators had considerable resources; that a general rising was contemplated in Cuba; and that the whole was combined with an expedition which was leave the United States under the orders of General Quitman, accompanied by Henderson and Kinney. This expedition had at its disposal four large steamers—the Pampero, which was to sail from Galveston, Texas, with 700 men; the Daniel Webster, and the Prometheus, which were to leave Savannah with equal forces; and the remainder, to the number of 3,600 men, were to leave New York in the Massachusetts. This last vessel has been detained by the American authorities, in virtue of a demand to that effect made by the Spanish Consul. The conspirators deferred the execution of their plan, in order to wait the issue of Mr. Soule's mission.

"On the decision of the results of that mission, the expedition was to depart immediately for Cuba. In order to support it, armed bodies were organized throughout the island with recognised chiefs; they were deposed in such a manner that in a given time of two or three days these hands could start from points agreed upon. The American filibusters had succeeded in deceiving the vigilance of the press and of our consuls in the United States, by propagating the rumor that they were about to proceed to Costa Rica.

"The conspiracy having been discovered, the Captain General concentrated all the forces of the island at Havana and at Los Tunos, after leaving effective garrisons in the towns of Santiago de Cuba and Puerto Principe. The point most menaced, Trinidad, was also occupied by the troops of the Governor. In order to increase his force, arms were placed in the hands of a few companies of Gallician emigrants who had been brought to Cuba by the Feijoo Sotomayor Company, the military who had served their time were again called into service, preparations were made for organizing into militia regiments the 'Peninsulars' resident in Havana, and reinforcements were demanded from Puerto Rico. In addition to the adoption of these energetic measures, the Government arrested and imprisoned a number of persons who were reputed to be members of the junta of general insurrection or commanding generals or chiefs of organized hands.

"At Havana there were arrested Ramon Pinto, head of the conspiracy, a rich Catalan, very intimate with the Captain General; Cintra, an eminent advocate; Jose Antonio Echevarria, a distinguished writer; and the engineer of the railroad from Matanzas to Havana, Carlos Rusea, Juan Cadalzo, the two young Balvines, and Pinelo.

"Other arrests were made at Matanzas, Bejucal, Guines, Cienfuegos, Puerte de Golpe, (Villa Clara,) Cardenas, Piuer del Rio, Trinidad, Taruco, &c. A number of persons have fled. This affair is being actively followed up by the Government. Pinto, the head of the conspiracy, is deeply compromised, and important papers have been found in his house. Emigrants who had been permitted to return to Cuba are amongst the number of the most dangerous and most deeply compromised conspirators.

"In consequence of the measures adopted by General Concha, 5,000 men are concentrated at Havana and 3,000 at Los Tunos. The military organizations which have been effected raise to 20,000 men the number of the defenders of the Government of the island.

"It is expected that the American steamers of which we have spoken, will be detained by the authorities of the United States, on the demand of our Consul. All the Spanish ships of war have been sent out to watch the enemy. Large transport steamers have also been got in readiness to convey troops to all the points that were likely to call for protection.

"The Council of Ministers listened with much interest to the report of M. Bastillos. It was decided in Council that there should leave Cadiz on the 12th, for Havana, a battalion of infantry which is at present on the island of San Fernando, and that by the 1st of May there should be ready to embark for Cuba sufficient troops to complete in that island the effective force of 30,000 men. The Governor had ordered the judgment by councils of war, conformably to anterior laws, of armed bands of more than three men who might be found traversing the interior of the island."

IMPORTANT PROCEEDINGS IN THE CORTES.

The Madrid correspondent of the Paris "*Presse*" gives the following account of the interrogatories put to the Spanish Ministry in the Cortes, on the subject of General Concha's despatches:

"The Cortes came to a vote to-day (March 8) of high importance—an importance the greater from the fact that it seems to prejudge the solution of the question left to the Assembly by M. Olozaga. It has affirmed in principle the existence of two Chambers, by a majority of 201 votes against 155.

"But the sitting reserved to us other emotions. I announced to you a few days since the discovery of a very serious conspiracy in the island of Cuba. This morning, the Government received circumstantial despatches brought to it by M. Bastillos, one of the most distinguished officers of the Spanish navy, who has just returned from the island.

"Now, General Serrano suddenly interrupted the debate on the Constitution by demanding of the Ministry if they could give some explanation as to the contents of these despatches.

"M. Luzuriaga, in the midst of a silence truly solemn, gave a reply as categorical as the circumstances would permit.

"A great conspiracy had in fact been discovered; but the Captain General Concha had succeeded in nipping it in the bud. All the principal actors in this drama were in the hands of the authorities. The Minister was able to give the assurance that the security of this rich colony was in no danger. Large reinforcements of troops were about being dispatched to General Concha. Spain would bleed from all her veins, sooner than support in that quarter either injury or dishonor.

"On the character of the conspiracy M. Luzuriaga was not as explicit as he himself would no doubt have desired. He only ventured to insinuate a fact which people here would like to doubt, namely, that the impulse of this conspiracy came from the United States; and he immediately asserted with energy, and in a manner which produced a profound impression on the Assembly, that all the conspirators arrested were acknowledged partisans of the maintenance of Slavery.

"On this occasion the Minister made a declaration which reflects the highest honor upon him, as well as upon the Cabinet whose sentiments he expresses. He said that, without invading the rights of established property, without refusing to compensate them by a suitable indemnity, the Spanish Government was finally decided to put an end to a barbarous institution which all civilized nations condemned, and which M. Luzuriaga did not fear to call a past and a shame to humanity.

"The Espartero Ministry has the more merit for having taken this generous initiative, from the fact that Negro Slavery reckons, in this liberal land of Spain, numerous and very warm partisans, and for Cuba itself the declaration is not without its perils.

"M. Olozaga constituted himself the interpreter of the sentiments of the whole Assembly, by proposing a vote of adhesion and thanks to the Cabinet. It was the pendant to that which was passed about a month since, in consequence of the explanations demanded by M. Mariategny. The Cortes have proved once more that they are decided not to retreat from this position, in which the honor of Spain is so deeply involved.

"Apart from the debates of the Assembly, I have learned that the principal author of this Cuban conspiracy is an unfrocked monk, who had succeeded in insinuating himself, to a certain extent, into the confidence of General Concha. Mention is also made, in connection with it, of a well-known employee belonging to the engineer corps."

For the National Era.

LEONORA.

Alone I wander o'er the paths we pressed
 With lingering footsteps in the Long-ago,
 And the soft summer moon hangs warm and low,
While languid stars are faint through all the West,
And though the form that then mine arm caressed,
 Thrilling to feel the heart's quick ebb and flow,
 Its zoning clasp no more for aye shall know,
Still, still I wander with a sweet unrest:
For silver whispers haunt the dreamy air,
 Like ghosts of words I never may forget;
The smiles, the welcome thou wert wont to wear,
 Meet my fond seeking as of yore they met;
And at my side, grief-sanctified and rare,
 The glory of thy presence lingers yet.

W. D. H.

LEGISLATIVE VISIT TO A CATHOLIC SCHOOL IN MASSACHUSETTS.

An order had been passed by the Massachusetts House of Representatives, authorizing the joint committee on nunneries to visit such schools, academies, or similar institutions, as they might see fit. In pursuance of this authority, the committee made a visit to a Catholic school in Roxbury, and conducted themselves in a most extraordinary manner, according to the report of the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, a paper conspicuous for the careful moderation and accuracy of its statements.

The school visited is situated on the Dedham turnpike, a thoroughfare much frequented, in an ordinary house, not in any way secluded from observation nor surrounded by any barriers. It is kept by seven Catholic ladies, and includes twelve pupils, all young ladies between the ages of ten and fifteen, who, with an Irish man servant, constitute the whole household. The committee consisted of but seven persons, but they were accompanied by outsiders, so that the whole company filled two twelve-seat omnibuses. No notice was given of their visit, nor did the committee exhibit their authority. The Boston *Daily Advertiser* says:

"Nineteen ladies, twelve of them less than fifteen years of age, could not of course oppose any effectual obstacle to the entrance of twenty-four full-grown men into a common house, even had the ladies known the rights guarantied them by the Constitution and laws of Massachusetts, and had they been disposed to maintain those rights by force. The 'gentlemen' (we presume we must call members of the Legislature by this title) roamed over the whole house, from attic to cellar. No chamber, no passage, no closet, no cupboard, escaped their vigilant search. No part of the house was enough sacred or enough protected by respect for the common courtesies of civilized life to be spared in the examination. The ladies' dresses hanging in their wardrobes were tossed over. The party invaded the chapel, and showed their respect as Protestants, we presume, for the One God whom all Christians worship, by talking loudly, with their hats on, while the ladies shrank in terror at the desecration of a spot which they believe hallowed.

"While in the chapel, the ladies declined holding any conversation with their persecutors; but in another part of the house the principal expressed her perfect willingness to answer any questions propounded by 'the committee.' One of the 'gentlemen' accordingly pats her affectionately on the back with one hand, turns over the rosary suspended about her neck with the other, and asks her if she is content with her situation—whether she can leave when she pleases. The young ladies were of course subjected to questions even more rude—whether there are any boys boarding in the establishment, what punishments they suffer for misdemeanors, &c. It is scarcely necessary to describe such conversation in detail; the reader can readily imagine what the scene must have been.

"The examining party of course had every thing their own way, and when their searches and their insults had been protracted to the extent of their pleasure they took their leave."

So extraordinary a statement, on such respectable authority, could not be passed by without notice in the Legislature, and on the same day it was made a subject of discussion in both Houses, and in both members of the committee on nunneries denied the charges.

"In the House a motion for a committee of inquiry was voted down, on the ground that it was disrespectful to the committee on nunneries. A motion that the several committees authorized to visit institutions out of Boston report how many persons other than members of said committees had been invited to accompany them, and at what expense to the Commonwealth, was also voted down. The Speaker advocated the first motion, and said that in some instances members of the committee had exceeded their powers. This gave offence, and the Speaker explained that he spoke only in Pickwickian sense. In the Senate it was denied that any of the committee visited any place to which they were not preceded by the Lady Superior. A joint committee of inquiry was ordered, and the order came down to the House while the same subject was under discussion, and was concurred in."

The above statement, being a compilation from the Boston papers, is copied from the Providence *Journal*. The Boston *Bee*, so far as we have observed, is the only journal in that city which has attempted to defend the proceedings of the committee. It characterizes the statements of the *Advertiser* as unjust, and in some particulars untrue. What the *Bee* admits may be gathered from the comments made upon its article by the *Atlas*, which we copy entire:

"The *Bee* contains a semi-official account of the visit of the illustrious seventeen to the boarding-school in Roxbury. The *Bee* asserts that 'the entire investigation was conducted with propriety.' The strongest point made by that paper is, that the committee did not go into the cellar, which it evidently regards as a wonderful piece of self-denial. It admits that 'a simple inquiry' was made by a member of the committee, which caused 'an expression of displeasure upon the countenance of a young lady pupil.' The *Bee* forgets to tell us what this inquiry was, but, without doubt, it was sufficiently simple. We are told that eight or ten of 'the party' entered the 'sanctuary' 'in the most silent manner,' although one of the committee conversed with a female 'in a low tone of voice,' still, we suppose, 'in the most silent manner.' Being told that no conversation was allowed in the chapel, the loquacious gentleman invited the lady into the entry, where, according to the *Bee*, in the ardor of conversation, he 'casually took hold of the rosary which was suspended about the lady's neck.' This will do. This settles the matter. After this, nobody can refuse to believe that 'the entire investigation was conducted with propriety.' A gentleman who, after an acquaintance of five minutes' duration, takes the liberty of handling a lady's ornaments, has a code of politeness of his own, quite beyond criticism, and incapable of reformation."

The Worcester *Transcript* says that the convent committee visited the city of Worcester some time ago, and "inspected the Catholic Seminary at Pacachoag. The members of it behaved in such an undignified, ludicrous, peeking, bombastical manner, according to all accounts, that they obtained the appellation of the 'smelling committee.'" We believe that there was one young gentleman amongst them who had the good sense to laugh at the farce in which he played a part.

DANIEL R. GOODLOE,

Washington, D. C.

ATTORNEY AT LAW, will prosecute Bounty Land and other claims on the Federal Government.

PROSPECTUS OF THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE OHIO COLUMBIAN.

A PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE.

E. S. HAMLIN and A. M. GANGEWER, Editors.

The Columbian is a weekly newspaper, published every Wednesday, on a handsome sheet, at the city of Columbus, Ohio, the Capital of the State.

In Politics, it will advocate the cause and support the policy of the Independent Democracy; it will labor to secure the Rights of Man, and will oppose whatever violates or tends to violate the Equality of Rights. It will oppose Class Legislation, Involuntary Personal Servitude, and all the various devices by which the few seek to subjugate the many to their rule. It it will aim to spread abroad the blessings attendant upon Free Labor and Free Institutions. Recognising the law of Progress, it will lend its hearty support to every practicable and just measure for the promotion of Industrial Prosperity, Peace, Liberty, Education, Temperance, and the welfare of the Agricultural and working classes.

It is a well-known fact, that the Slave Power, that stupendous Monopoly, which grows fat on the unpaid labor and degradation of the enslaved race, has for years sought to extend its dominion by the increase of Slave soil. For this purpose it involved us in a War with Mexico, it has annulled the Missouri Compromise, a compact made secred by the favor of a generation of men; and it now seeks to establish itself permanently in Kansas, on soil heretofore free. It is from its nature eggressive; and it behooves the People to take measures to stay its progress. This power, grown haughty by success, elects our Presidents, controls our Politics, dictates our Foreign and Domestic Policy, moulds our Politicians, and bends the so-called National Parties to achieve its purposes. The signs of the times indicate that new combinations are forming to subject anew the free spirit of the North to the machinations of this stupendous Monopoly.

The Columbian will be an advocate of personal, civil and religious Liberty, without regard to race or creed; it will give no sanction to secret (oath-bound) political combinations to control the ballot-box, whether under the direction of Priests or others, regarding them as of dangerous tendency under a Republican form of Government. Christianity and Republicanism alike recognise the Individual Rights and Duties of every man, and we believe in the right of private judgment in all matters, whether of religion or politics. We regard Slavery, and the issues involved in it, as the great Political Question of the Day, and we trust the People will beware of all combinations calculated, if not designed, to call off their attention from this giant Evil, lest, mayhap, some of those who hate Oppression be found unwittingly aiding the Oppressors. Believing the principles of equal and exact justice which we advocate to be right, and such as God approves, and invoking His guidance to advance them we commend our enterprise to the favor of all friends of Human Progress.

The Columbian, while occupying a decided position in *Politics*, will contain various Literary, Miscellaneous, and News articles of interest. It shall be our aim to make it a good *Family Newspaper*, and we trust the friends of the cause will endeavor to increase its circulation.

Letters containing subscriptions, &c., may be forwarded by mail at my risk, to be addressed to

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AN act passed Congress at the late session, granting one hundred and sixty acres of land to the following classes of persons, who have performed *fourteen* days military service in any of the wars in which this country has been engaged since the year 1775, including Wayne's war, war of 1812, Black Hawk war, Florida war, &c., viz:

All the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates, including Indians, whether volunteers, militia, or rangers.

All the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the navy, seamen, ordinary seamen, landsmen, marines, flotilla men, chaplains, and clerks.

All wagon masters and teamsters who may have been employed in the transportation of military stores and supplies.

Those who have received 160 acres are not provided for in this act, but those who have heretofore received less than 160 acres will be entitled to an additional warrant, so as to give them an amount of land equal to 160 acres.

Persons entitled under this act can have their warrants promptly obtained through this Agency, for a moderate fee.

Those not having the necessary forms, by dropping me a line, the same shall be forwarded free of cost.

Claims of every description against the United States, to be presented for allowance either before the Court of Claims or Executive Departments, will be promptly attended to.

FRENCH S. EVANS, Esq., late Chief Clerk in the Pension Office, will aid me in the prosecution of all claims sent to me against the Government.

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N. B. The thirty-third Congress has granted Bounty Lands, viz: 160 acres to all who have served fourteen days during any war, or have been in any battle, on land or at sea, and the widows or minor children of such; also, to the widows of Revolutionary Soldiers, with Pensions to the widows or minor children of those who died in the army or navy, during any war. The provisions of the law apply also to Indians, chaplains, wagon-masters, and teamsters. Persons desiring to avail themselves of the above provisions, must send the name of the person who performed the service, state the kind, time, grade, place, and duration of service, with the names of the officers under whom performed. Widows should, in addition, send the date of the death of the husband and date of marriage, and minor children should send the date of death of father and mother.

Reference may be made to the Commissioner of Pensions, to any member of Congress, or to the following persons:

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W. W. Corcoran, do.
Hon. Edward Everett.
Hon. Charles Sumner.
Hon. W. H. Seward.
Hon. J. M. Clayton.
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